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THE IMAGE OF GOVERNANCE

COMPILED OF THE AC-
TES AND SENTENCES

notable, of the most no-
ble Emperour Alex-
ander Seuerus,
late transla-
ted out

of
Greke into Englyshe, by syr
Thomas Eliot knight,
in the fauour of
Robylytie.

ANNO. M. D. XLI.





MUSEUM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE PREFACE.

SO TO AL THE NOBILITIE
OF THIS FLOVRYSHYNGE ROYALME
OF ENGLANDE, THOMAS ELYOT
KNYGT DESYRETH IN-
CREASE OF VERTVE
AND HONOUR.



AS I LATE VVAS ser-
ching among my boke, to finde some
argument, in the readinge wherof I
mought recreate my spyrites, beinge
almoste fatigate with the longe study
aboute the correctinge and ampla-
tinge of my Dictionary, of Latine and Englishe, I
happed to fynde certeyne quaires of paper, which I
had wryten about. ix. yeres passed: wherin were con-
tayned the actes and sentences notable, of the moste
noble Emperour Alexander, for his wysedome and
gravity called Severus, which boke was first wryten
in the greke tunge by his secretary named Eucolpius,
and by good chaunce was lente vnto me by a gentille
man of Naples called Dudericus. In reading wher-
of I was maruaylously rauished, and as it hath ben
euer myn appetite, I wisshed that it had ben publi-
shed in such a tunge, as mo men mought vnderstande
it. wherfore with all diligence I endeuoied my selfe
whiles I had leysour, to translate it into englishe: all
be it I coude not so exactly performe myn enterpryse,
as I mought haue done, if the owner had not impo-
tunately called for his boke, wherby I was constrain-
ned to leue some part of the work vnto translated: which

a ii

I made

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I made by, as welles as I coulde, with somme other
Autours, aswel latines as grekis. hauing this boke
in my hande I remembred, that in my boke named the
Gouernour, I promised to write a boke of the forme
of good gouernance: And for as moch as in this boke
was expressed of gouernance so persite an ymage, I
supposed, that I shuld sufficiently discharge my selfe
of my promise, if I dyd nowe publishe this boke, whi-
che (except I be moche deceyued) shall minister to the
wyse readers both pleasure and profite. Than did I
eftsones peruse it, and with more exact diligence con-
forme the stile therof with the phrase of our englishe,
desiringe more to make it playne to all readers, than
to flourishe it with ouer moch eloquence. which boke
I do dedicate vnto you noble lordis, gentil knightes,
and other in the state of honour or worship, as beinge
mooste redy to be aduanced to gouernance vnder your
Princc: so that your vertues be correspondent vnto
your fortunes. Yet am I not ignorant that diuerse
there be, which do not thankfully esteeme my labours,
dispraysinge my studies as vayne and vnpofitable,
sayinge in derision, that I haue nothing wonne ther-
by, but the name onely of a maker of bokes, and that
I sette the trees, but the printer eateth the frutes. In
dede al though disdaine & enuy do cause them to speke
it, yet will I not deny, but that they saye truly: for yf
I wold haue employed my study about the increace of
my priuate commoditie, which I haue spent in wy-
tinge of bokes for others necessity, few men doubt (I
suppose) that do knowe me, but that I shuld haue at-
tained or this tyme to haue ben moche more welthy,
& in respect of the worlde in a more estimation. But to
excuse

excuse me of falsy, I will professe without arrogauce,
 that when I considered, that kunninge contynueth
 when fortune spyteth, hauinge also rynging alway in
 myn eare, the terrible checke that the good maister in
 the gospel gaue to his ydel seruaute, for hidinge his
 money in a clowte, and not disposinge it for his ma-
 sters advantage, those two wordes, Serue nequam, so
 sterid my spirites, that it caused me to take more re-
 garde to my last reckning, than to any riches or world-
 ly promotion. And all though I do neither dyspute
 nor expounde holy scripture, yet in suche warkes as
 I haue and intend to sette forth, my pooze talent shall
 be, God willinge, in such wise bestowed, that no man-
 nes conscience shalbe therewith offended, my boke cal-
 led the Gouvernour, instructinge men in suche vertues
 as shalbe expediet for them, which shal haue authori-
 ty in a wele publike. The Doctrinal of princis, which
 are but the countayples of wise Ilocrates, inducinge
 into noble mens wittes honest opinions. The Educa-
 tion of chyldren, whiche also I translated oute of the
 wise Plutarche, making men and women, which will
 folow those rules, to be wel worthy to be fathers and
 mothers. The liuel Pasquill although he be mery and
 playne, teching as well seruantes how to be faythfull
 vnto their maisters, as also masters how to be circum-
 spect in espying of flaterars. Semblably thoffice of a
 good coucellour, with magnanimity or good courage
 in tyme of aduersity, may be apparatly founden in my
 boke called, Of the knowlege belöging to a wise man.
 In reding the sermon of saynt Cyprian by me transla-
 ted, the deuout reader shal fynd no litle comfort in pla-
 ges or calamities. The banquet of Sapience is not fasti-
 dious,

Matt. 18.

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diouse, and in litle come shewith out of holy scripture many wise sentences. The Castel of Helth being truly rad, shal longe p̄serue men (being some phisicians neuer so angry) frō perillouse siknes. My litle boke cal-
lid the defēce of good women, not only confōdeth til-
lainous report, but also teachith good wiues to know
well their dueties. My Dictionary declaringe latyne
by englishe, by that tyme that I haue perfozmed it,
shall not only serue for children, as men haue excepted
it, but also shall be commodiouse for them which per-
chaunce be well lerned. And this p̄sent boke, whiche
I haue named the Image of gouernaunce, shall be to all
them which wil reade it sincerely, a very true paterne,
wherby they may shape all their p̄cedinges. And in
none of these warkes I dare vnder take, a man shall
finde any sentence against the cōmandmentes of god,
the trewe catholyke faythe, or occasion to stee men to
wanton deuises. wherfore I trust vnto god, myn ac-
compt shall of hym be fauorably accepted: all though
some ingrate persons with ille reporte or mockes re-
quite yl my labours: to whom I will only recyte this
mery fable of Escopē, wryten by Marimus Planudes.
¶ A good woman had an husband, who wold be oftē
tymes drunken, wherwith she beinge ashamed, and
diuysinge by what meane she might cause hym to leue
that horrible vice, at the laste whan he was a slepe, she
caried hym vnto the charnell house, wherin were put
the bones of deade men, and leuing him lyinge there,
she made faste the doze, and departed. And whan she
thought that he was wakynge, she takynge with her
bze and meate, retourned to the charnell house and
knocked at the doze, her housband sayntly asked who
knocked

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knocked there, the good woman answered, I which haue brought meate with me for the dead men, praye sayd her husbände, thou increasest my payne in speakinge of meate, bringe me some drinke I beseeche the. That hearing the good woman, alas sayd she that euer I was borne, for this vice gotten by custome, my housbände hath made it a naturall habyte, which will neuer forsake hym.

This fable nedeth no declaration: for every man may perceiue what it meneth. Howeouer many being ignorant of good letters, do vniuersally reprove all them that be studious in learninge; alleginge this commune prouerbe, The greatest clarkes be not the wisest men: affirming, that they be founden negligent about their owne profit, and consequently vnapt to the ministration of thinges of waighty importance. How true their allegations be, & on how feble a foundation they are builded, it shall in this wise appere vnto wise men. First the sayd prouerbe semeth by him which lacked learninge, to be deuised, sens that he preferreth ignorance before kunninge: whiche arrogance declared hym to be a very foole, and vnwitty: consideringe that by knowlege most chiefly, a mā excelleth al other mortall creatures, and thereby is moste like vnto god. And learninge is none other thinge, but an aggregation of many mens sentences & actes to the augmentation of knowlege. And if som lerned men do neglect their temporal commodities, it is for one of these causes: epther by cause they haue ben so desirous of knowlege, and in respect therof esteemed so lytle all other pleasures, that they thought the tyme all to lytle, which they dyd spend in it, holdinge them selves with that which seru-
ued.

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ned for natures necessitie right wel cōtēted, or els like as the grehound that was sent to great Alexander by the king of Albania, whā there were shewed vnto him seuerally a gret hart, a boze, & a beare, he bouchēd not saulfe to loke on them, but lay still wagging his tayle: thā was there brought forth a great lyon, to whom he dyd arise softly, and setting by his bristles, & shewing his tethe, flēing to the lyon, lightly strangled him. Afterwarde a puyssante olyfante beinge brought to the place, the grehounde semyng to reioyce at the greatnessse of the beste, roused him, and after two or thre questinges, he leapt to the great olyphant, and after a long fight ouerthrew him and kyled him. So I dout not but that som men there be liuing, in whom is such courage, that in thinges of lytle importance may seme to be negligent, disdayninge as it were to spend their wittes or labours about the pelfry of riches: which beinge ones called to authorēty ioynd with liberty, wil inforce them selves to make their ministratiōs noble & excellent. Suche were Solon, Aristides, and Phocion in Athenes, Publicola, Fabritius, Curius, and Cato Uticensis at Rome, whose lyues I wold to god were in Englyshe, and the lyke be nowe lypynge, yf they were sought for.

And for the confutation of that pestiferous opiniō y gret lerned men be vnapt to the ministratiō of thinges of waighty importāce, this shalbe sufficient. First as I late said lerning is the augmētatiō of knowlege, which the more that it is, the more maye be perceiued what shalbe most necessary in thinges which happē in cōsultation. & the more that it is perceyued, the better and more aptly may it be ministred and executed. Ex-
amples

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amplex we haue of Moyses, who beinge excellently
 lerned in the most dyffuse doctrines of the Egyptians
 & Ethiopians, was by almighty god chosen to guide
 and rule his people, which were innumerable & moste
 froward of nature: and with what wonderfull wise-
 dome and pacience dyd he gouerne them by the space
 of .xl. yeres, beinge without any cities, towne, or any
 certain possessiōs: who were better leders of armies
 than great Alexander, Scipio, Lucullus, & Cesar, whi-
 che were men al of great lerning: who better handled
 matters of waighty importāce, than Octavian called
 Augustus, Hadrian, Marcus Antoninus, Alexander,
 Seuerus, & of late yeres Carolus Magnus, al empe-
 rours of Rome, and men very studious in all noble
 sciences: whan was there a better consul thā Tully,
 or a better senator thā Cato called Uticensis: And to
 retourne home to our owne countray, and wherof we
 our selves may be witnesses, howe moche hath it pro-
 fited vnto this realme, that it now hath a kynge our
 souerayne lord kynge HENRY the eighth exactly well
 lerned: Hath not he therby onely sifted out detestable
 heresies, late mingled amonge the corne of his fayth-
 full subiectes, and caused moche of the chaffe to be
 thowen in the fyre: also hipocrisy and vayne supersti-
 tion to be cleane banysshed: wherof I doubt not, but
 that there shalbe or it be longe, a more ample remem-
 brance, to his most noble and immortal renome: This
 well considered, let men cease their sayde foolish o-
 pinion, and holde them content with their owne igno-
 rance, and for my part, say what they liste, I wil du-
 ring my life, be in this wise occupied, in bestowing my
 talent, beinge satisfied with the contentynge of suche
b
men

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men as ye be, adourned with vertue, the most precious garment of very nobyltie.

But now to thintent that ye if ye list, may attayn in estimable profit by the reding of this litle worke, I do exhort you, that redyng it distinctly and studiousely, first ye marke diligently, howe by the lasciuouse and remisse education of Varius Heliogabalus, he grewe to be a person most monstruouse in liuinge, also howe not withstandinge, that he not onely suffered, but also prouoked the people to lyue in a moste beastely licence: yet horrible synne at the last became to all men fastidiouse and lothsome. wherfoze they slewe in most miserable facion him that consumed infinite treasour in supportinge their lewdenes. Than shall ye note diligently, howe moche it profytted to Alexander, who nexte dydde succede hym, that he had so wise and vertuouse a mother, and that he was brought vp among so wyse counsaillours. Also the maner of his meruailouse proceedinges, in reformyng a publike weale, lefte vnto hym corrupted so shamefully, wherein was moze difficulty, than to begynne it, where neuer was any. Marke also his moste noble qualitees, and howe they were tempred. Moreover the forme of his speakinge, and howe as he grew in yeres, so waxed it moze mature and serpouse, sometyme aboundaunt, otherwhyles shorte and compendious, as oportuntye serued. In his actes and decrees, what Justice and prudence were in them contayned, what seueritie he vsed, sparinge neither hym selfe, nor his frendes or mynisters. Finally, all his lyfe is a wonderfull myrrour, if it be truely radde and iustely considered, whiche if ye do often loke on, ye maye thereby attyre your selfe in
suche

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Suche faction, as men shall therfore haue you in more
fauour and honour, than if ye hadde on you as
riche a garmente as the greatte Turke
hathe any. Onely for my good
wyl in translatynge it for
you, I desyre your
gentyll repozt
and assys-
tence
ageynst them, whiche do hate all
thynges, whych please
not their fan-
tasyes.



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Thus endeth the Table.





OF VVHAT LYNAGE

THE EMPEROVR ALEXANDER

was, and the sygnes betokenynge

his Emprye. Capi. I.



VRELIVS ALEXAN-

der sommetyme Emperour of Rome, was borne in the royaume of Siria, in the Citie of Artene, whose father had to name Varius, whiche was lyneally descended from the noble house of Metellus the Romayne, called Metellus the vertuouse. Albeit some wyters suppose, that Seuerus, before he was emperour, was amorous of a woman in Siria, and by the arte of Astronomie fyndynge in her natiuitie, that she shuld be an emperours mother, he toke her to wyfe, and had issue by her, Varius the father of Alexander: but fynally the progeny of this Emperour is very vncertayn: wherfore in myne opinion his lyfe and actes be the moze to be honored and meruayled at, consyderynge that beinge come of soo vncertayne a lynage, and borne so ferre from the citie of Rome, and in so barbarous a countrey, he could so well gouerne the empire of Rome, whiche before his tyme was with pryde and other detestable vyces extremely corrupted.

The mother of Alexander was called Manimeca, a woman of notable wysedome, as it shall hereafter appere by the byngynge vp of her sonne, and preseruyng of hym as well from the vyces, wherunto he was not onely prouoked, but also wel nygh constreyned, by that moste beastely emperour Varius Helio-

A

gaba-

THE IMAGE OF

gabalus, his cousyn germapne and pzedecessour, not withstanding there was in that noble woman Hammea, a great sppe of auarpyce in gatherynge and keepynge of treasure, whiche fynally was the only cause of the deathe bothe of her and her sonne. The sayde Hammea was doughter of a woman called Mesa, which was bozne in Phenicia, in a towne called Emesa, and was systre of Julia, wife of the emperour Seuerus. This Mesa lyuing, Seuerus and Bassianus his sonne, was contynually abydyng in the courtes of those emperours: and after the deceasse of Bassianus, she was commanded by Macrinus than emperour, to departe to her countrey, albeit the emperour graunted that she shulde take with her suche trefure, as she had gathered, which was abundant. She had also two doughters, the one called Semiamira, the other Hammea. Semiamira had a sonne named Bassianus, which was of excellent beaultie. And bicause he was pzelate in the temple of the sunne, whome the Phenices do calle Heliogabalus, he was semblablye called by that name, haupng added thereto the name of Varius, whiche is in englishe diuers, forasmoche as some men suppose, that he was conceyued of the sede of dyuers men, his mother Semiamira beyng incontinent, and as it were comune to many men, durynge the tyme that she abode in the emperours court with her mother. Not withstanding her sonne Heliogabalus, by the crafty meanes of his grandame Mesa, was declared to be the sonne of the emperour Bassianus, and by the fauour of the men of warre of the Romayns, who than murmured and had in hatrede the pryde and crueltie of Macrinus (who was emperour

court after Bassianus) and his sonne Diadumenus, the sayde Varius Hellogabalus was aduanced vnto the empire, who with voluptuous and monstrous luyng, in such wise corrupted the citie of Rome, that therein vnneth remaineth any stepe of vertue or honestye.

Contrarywyle the other daughter of Mesa called Mamea, of whom I intende now to write, induced rather by nature and reason, than by the example of her vicious mother, so nourished and trayned her sayd sonne Alexander in vertue & lernyng, that partly by her education, but moche more by his owne inclination naturall, he became one of the most perfecte princis that euer gouerned.

The education of Alexander, and howe he prospered in vertue and doctryne. Capit. ii.



AVOYCHYNGE THE EDUCATION in chyldehode of Alexander, his noble mother Mamea failed not to prouide with all diligence and circumspection, that hir son mought be nourished in vertue, and amonge honest company, and that fro the tyme that he issued out of his infancy, he were continually instructed in all maner of doctryne, both ciuile and martiall: so that afterwarde he of his owne courage neuer suffred any daye to passe, without exerceysyng himselfe eyther in letters, or in faictis martiall. In the fyrste parte of his chyldehode he hadde instructours, Valerius Cordius, Titus Meturius, and Aurelius Philippus: whiche afterwarde wrote his lyfe. Also in his countrey he was taught in greke by Nebo the gram:

grammarians, and the rhetorician Serapio, and Stilio the philosopher. At Rome he had teachers in the latine tounge, fyrste in grammer Scaurinus a famous master, in rhetorike he was instructed by Julius Frontinus, Vibius Macrinus, & Julianus Grauianus. Al be it he dyd not soo moche delyte in latine eloquence, as in the greke, ne dyd therin profyte so much: but he loued all men that were lerned, and feared them also, lest they shulde wyte of hym any thing sharpely, or to his rebuke.

CMoreouer he sent often tymes for those excellent personages, communicatynge with them thynges whiche were done as well priuily as also openly: wyllynge them, that all that they founde to be true, they shulde put it in wytyng: suffrynge also them to reprove hym whan they seemed conuenient. Often tymes he made verses in greke very pleasant, and was much inclyned to musike. In the mathematical sciences, that is to say, Arithmetike, Geometry, and Astronomy, he was very well lerned. And therfore dyuerse tymes by his commandment, the professours of those sciences purposed openly questions. In diuination he was so excellent, that he therein surmounted the diuynours of Gascoyne, Spayne, and Hungry. He painted also excellently. Also he dyd synge very pleasantly, but neuer in the p[re]sence of any other, but onely of his seruauntes and pages of his priuy chaumber. He wrote the lyues of good princes in verses eloquently, and sange them vnto the harpe and organes, tyghtly & sweetly, but that dyd he onely for recreatynge his spirites, whan they were troubled with belement study: as it often tymes hapned by incomparable labour aboute

bout the great affayres of the weale publyke. He was of visage fayre, and well proportioned in body: large and goodly of personage, and therewith was stronge and durable to susteyne peynes, as he that knewe his owne strength, and in the preseruyng therof was not founde negligent. Therto he was amiable, and towarde euery man gentyl, and easy to be spoken vnto. Also there was in hym so moche humanitie and beneuolence, that he wolde often tymes vylite not onely the beste and the seconde of his frendes and seruauntes beinge sicke, but also them that were inferiours and of base haupour, despyng them to tell to him freely what they thought of hym, whom he wolde attentively heare. And whan he had herde them throughe, than as the thyng, which was spoken of, did require, he wold diligently amende and correcte it. And whan his mother wolde saye often tymes to hym, Sit ye be to familiar and easye, and therfore ye shall cause the imperiall estate to be the lasse sette by, he answered thus, But yett shall it be more sure, and contynue the longer. This was his disposition, procedyng as wel of the perfection of his moste gentylle nature, as of the education of his good and circumspect mother.

Nowe wil I procede to write of his excellent wisdom and vertue, experienced in his authoritie imperiall, wherein was declared the moste perfect forme of gouernance that euer was practised by any pryncce (as I suppose) whiche shall appere the more manifestly, yf fyrst I treat somewhat of the moste miserable estate of the weale publyke, and as it semed incorrigible, at the tyme that he receyued the gouernance thereof, he than beinge but of the age of .xvi. yeres, whiche

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being considered and kepte in remembrance, this history shall be to the readers thereof (excepte I be deceived) bothe pleasant and meruaylous, and no lesse profitable to gouernours that do preferre their publyke weale befoze wilful appetite and particular pleasures.

¶ Of the monstrous lyping of the emperor Marius Helio-
gabalus, wherby the cite of Rome was corrupted. Ca.iii.

Tyrannye
2 auarice.



MACRINVS the emperour for his auarice and tyrannye beinge abandoned (or rather betrayed) of his owne people, and slaine with his sonne Diadumenus, who in beaultie and goodly stature excelled all men of his tyme, Marius Helio-
gabalus, of whom I late spake, was aduanced vnto the empire, by the hole consent of the Senate and people of Rome, who gaue hasty credence to all reportes that were made to the honour and praise of their newe princis. (Such is the appetites of men, which be moued anon with credulitie: for suche thynges as they desyre, they coueyte to here of, and do delite in new tydings, though it be falsely reported.) But Helio-
gabalus as soone as he was come vnto Rome, out of the countrey of Siria, he immediately declared his beastly nature, by insuynge vices mooste abhomyable, and aduancynge the fauourers and haunters of the same vices, and inforcynge with all his study and pui-
sance, to exterminate out of the cite of Rome all vertue and honestie, from whens a lyttell befoze, all the world receyued doctrine and example of honour, concernynge as well vertuous maners, as marciall prowesse.

¶ Fyrste in lechery this Helio-
gabalus was so insatiable,

able, that not onely he exercised that byce openly, in common baynes and bordell houses, with sundry women of diuerse degrees and countreys: but also he ordeyned a senate of common harlattes, amonge whom were dyuerse noble matrones and damselfs of Rome, theyr husbandes or parentes not beinge so hardye to let or rebuke them, vnto whom often tymes, after he and his ribauldes had saciate with them theyr lecherous appetites, he made a solemne contris or proposition, callinge them his companions, and exhortynge them to set al theyr study and wytte to induce al other women vnto the fourme of theyr lyuynge: Declaring expressely, that he aboue all other thynges moste desired, that all men and womenne of the citie of Rome shuld be semblably disposed as he was. I holde it not conuenient to be wyrtten in any bulgare tynge, howe he transformed and abused his proper kynde, in such wyse, as I suppose the mooste vicious man nowe lyuynge wolde be ashamed, not onely to beholde it, but also to here it, and that dyd he not onely secretly or in his house, but also openly, all men that wolde, beholding and lookinge on hym. I omitte the residue, whiche in myne oppinion oughte neuer to haue ben wyrtten for abomination therof, moche more neuer to haue ben of any man knowne.

He also promoted to the greatest dignities of the publyke weale, common bawdes, notable ribauldes, solicitours and furtherers of dishonest appetites, often tymes cokes and deuilsars of lecherous confecti-
ons and sawces: Semblably by such persons he sold dignities, auctorities and offices in the publyke weale. He also elected into the Senate, and to the roumes of
great

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great capitaynes, dukes, and gouernoures of countreys moſte byle perſonages, not hauynge regard to any age, gentylneſſe of bloud, meryte, poſſeſſions or ſubſtaunce. He had of his priuie counſayle in all his actes, two Carters, the one named Protogenes, and the other Cordius. His glotonye was almoſte equall vnto his lecherie: in ſo moch as he therein vanquiſhed Vitellius, of whom it is wytten, that at one ſupper he was ſerued with ſeuē thouſande fiſhes, and fyue thouſande foules. Heliogabalus whan he ſoiourned nygh to the ſee, he wold neuer be ſeruid with ſea fiſhe: but beinge in places far diſtante from the ſea, he cauſed all his houſhold to be ſerued with moſte delycate ſea fiſhe. It abhorreth me to expreſſe his beaſtely luyng, but to the intent that the excellent vertues of his moſte noble ſucceſſour ſhal be moze apparant and commendable (lyke as al thyng that is vile or courſe, doth ſet forth the moze pleaſantly that thyng which is precious and fyne) it is requiſite that I deſcribe this monſter in ſome parte as he was. All be it I doo not tell euery thyng that I haue redde of hym, as well for that it ſhall be to good men odious to here, as alſo it mought happen to incend the wanton and lewde courages of ſome readers, inclined to ſemblable qualities, which (god knoweth) is moche contrary vnto my purpoſe.

But to retourne to this monſtrous Emperour, which conſumed dayes and nyghtes in lecherie and glotonie, hauynge ſome daye all his company ſerued with the braynes of Oſtriches, and a ſtraunge foule called Phenocopteri: an other daye with the tungen of Dopingayes, nightyngales, and other ſweete ſyn-
gynge

gyng bydes, oftentimes with the mylles of most de-
 lycate fyshes. I omitt other lyght fantasyes, wher-
 of I haue wrytten in my boke called the gouernour,
 where I treate of sobrietie. fynally it is remembred,
 that he was neuer two days togyther serued with one
 meate, nor ware thwse one garmente, nor compayned
 thwse with one woman, excepte his wyfe. As often as
 he remoued in progresse, there folowed hym. vi. Cha-
 rriottes laded only with baudes, comon harlottes, and
 rybauldes. This compayne had he in steede of coun-
 saylours, and so delyted in this forme of lyuyng, that
 he sayd oftentimes, that if he had a soune, he wolde
 ordeyne for hym maisters, that shulde compell hym to
 lyue in semblable facion. To these monstrous vices
 he added to crueltie, in puttyng to deathe dyuerse no-
 ble senatours. Also vsynge the counsayle of wyches
 and inchanters, he made his sacrifice with yong chil-
 dren: And violently rauyshynge from the noble men
 and women of Italy, their yonge infantes, he caused
 in his ptesence their bodies to be opened they lyuyng,
 and most cruelly serched in their tender bowelles for
 his moste damnable destiny. He had in speciall fauor
 one named Zoticus, who for familiarite bled betwene
 them, was taken of all the chiefe officers for the em-
 perours husbnde. This Zoticus vnder the colour of
 the sayd familiaritie, solde all the saynges and doin-
 ges of the emperour, intendyng to accumulate abun-
 dance of rychesse, by promysynge sayre to many men,
 but fynally deceyuyng all men, for commynge out of
 the emperours pryue chamber, after that he had herd
 every man speake, that sayd vnto him, to som he wold
 say, thus sayd I to the emperour of you, vnto an other

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Of you I herde the emperour saye thus to daye. To dyuers he wold say, Your matter or request shal come this to passe. As is the facion of suche maner of persones, whiche beinge from a base condicion admitted of princis into ouermuche familiaritie, they selle the fame and renome of their masters. Such as I haue reherfed were the counsailours of Hellogabalus. for al wyse and vertuous men he deedly hated. wherfore he banished the noble man Sabinus, vnto whom Ulpianus the great lawyer wrote his bookes. And semblably he put out of the citie the sayde Ulpian, onely bycause he was named a good manne, and caused Siluinus the noble oratour, whom he had made master to Alexander, to be put to dethe. And he ordeyned a tumbler to be great maister of his houtholde, a carter named Gordius he made capitayne of his garde. An other tumbler he made chiefe captayn of an army. The greatest rouines and affaires of the empyre, he comytted to mynstrels, players of enterludes and dysardes. To his bondmen and most vyle seruantes as they excelled in abhominacion, so preferred he them to the gouernance of realmes and prouinces. Also of his rabell of brothelles, to some he gaue the rule and gouernance of the youth of the citie: som he made rulers of the senate, to other he gaue preeminence and souerayntie ouer al them that were gentilmen, finally he intended to destroy all vertue, and to constraune all men to lyue beastely as he dyd. And for that cause he comanded that the noble Alexander his aunces sonne shulde be slayne, either violently or by some poyson: forasmuche as he perceyued hym to declyne from his appetite: but Alexander was alwaye preserved by the prouis-

providence of god, who inclyned the mindes of the senate & people to his preservation. for nothing availed the malice of tyrantes agaynst innocentis & good me, wher almyghty god wyl not haue the to perishe. wherfore this monstrous emperour, despyng the destruction of Alexander, procured his owne deth, agreable with his abhominable lyving. for his owne seruantes and souldiours, whiche were prepared for the garde of his person, dreadinge lest the people makynge insurrection, that they shuld be parteners of his mischeuous ende, being also tedious of his abominations, conspired to delyuer the common weale of hym. And sodaynly apprehended his adherentes and familiars, and with sundry tormentes dyd put them to deth. Finally pursuyng Heliogabalus to a priue draught, whereunto he fledde, there they slewe hym, and his mother Semiamira, and afterwarde his horrible carcayn being drawen throughtout the citie with hookes, was of all the people defyled with ordure, and other matter foule and stynkyng, & at the last was brought with all kyndes of reproche, to the comon draughtes of the citie, wherinto they wolde haue thowen hym, but for as moch as the hole of the draught coulde not receyue hym, they tyed him to a stone of great weight, and threwe hym into the ryuer of Tyber, to the intent that he shulde neuer be buryed. This was the worthy and conuenient ende of this most beastly and vncleane monster, who with the emperours Nero, Caligula, Domitian, and Commodus, his predecessours, was a notable and commodius example to all princis succeedinge, to declare, that not withstandinge their maiestie and puissance, they for their vices abhominable,

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were fyrste hated, and afterwarde slayne, and dishonoured by their propre subiectes.

And in this hystorie it is to be specially noted, that not withstandinge that he not onely permytted, but also wylled his subiectes to lyue in a licence, and without correction, for synne, mozeouer vsed toward them suche lyberalitie, that he fedde them with moste delicate and exquisite meates, gaue vnto theym money in habundance, and also to them, whiche dynded or supped with hym, he gaue all the vessel and plate, were it of golde or syluer, wherwith he was serued, and made many other distributions to the hole people wonderfull sumptuous: Yet the Romayns not withstandinge abhorryng in hym their owne propre vices, or rather bepng therewith faciate or tedious, they fynally slewe hym, as is befoze wrytten, after that he hadde reygned for yeres, & being than but in the. xxi. yere of his age.

Howe Alexander was made emperoure, and of his wonderfull temperance in refusynge diuerse great honours. Cap. iiii.



IMEDIATELY after the death of Hellogabalus the senate and people of Rome beinge surprised with incredible ioye, vsed all diligence and speede, that Aurelius Alexander, whom they had defended from death, mought forthwith as very emperour receiue all auctoritie and honour, that partepned to the imperyll maiestie. wherfoze they contended amonge them selues, whiche of them moughte applye to hym moste titles and names of dignitie. wherfoze he was the fyrste that receiued at one tyme all ornaments and tokens of honour, apdynge therto the name of Cesar,

Cesar, which a few yeres before he had receyved, but moche rather his honeste lyfe and vertuous maners, wherby he obteyned suche fauour of all menne, that whan Heliogabalus wolde haue slayne hym, he could not bypunge it to passe, the men of armes resisting, and the senate obstynately refusynge: but all these were but trifels in regarde that he approued him selfe worthy, whom the senate ought to saue harmelesse, whom the men of warre despyred to be in saufegarde, and generally by the sentence and opinion of all good men, was electe to be Emperour, beyng than but of the age of. xvi. yeres. Notwithstandynge he was than of suche a wonderfull sobernesse, that where the senate wolde haue gyuen to hym the surname of Antonine (which name for the incomparable vertues that were in Antoninus Pius, and Antoninus the philosopher late Emperours, was vsurped of other Emperours folowynge, for a principall title of honour) he humbly refused it: semblably dyd he the name of great Alexander, sayinge openly vnto the senate.

I beseeche you honorable fathers, do not cal me vnto this necessitie, that I shuld be compelled to satisfy you in the merites of so hygh a name as Antonine is. For if ye seke for goodnesse in a pryncer, who was better or more vertuouse than Antoninus Pius: If ye seke lernynge, who was more wysse or cunnyng than Marcus Antoninus: And who was more harmelesse than Verus Antoninus: Noble fathers, these hygh names of honour be bourdonous and to greuouse for my youthe to susteyne. For who wyll gladdely here a dumme man called Tully, an idiote Varro, a tyrant Metellus: And as touchynge the name of greate Alexander.

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lexander, it is moche moze incongruent, consydering that with better reason I moughte haue taken the name of Antonine, induced by colour either of affinitye, or els of equall astate in the imperial maiestie. but the name of great Alexander, wherfoze shuld I haue it? what gret thinges haue I yet done to deserue that name, whiche Alexander the greke after great enterpryses, Pompei the Romayne after many triumphes, had gyuen vnto them? Cease therfoze honorable fathers, to conferre to me honours aboue my merytes, and sens ye wyl haue me called great, suffre me to be one of you, who in very dede be great in honour and perfyte magnificence.

This moderate and sobze aunswere of so yonge a pryncce, inflamed immediately the hartes of the senate and people moche moze to honour hym, than if he had receyued those straunge names: and from that tyme he had the renoume of Constance and grauitie. Moze ouer for his great Austeritie agayne the presumption and lightnesse of his souldiours and seruauntes, he was named of them Seuerus, which betokeneth constance or sharpe in punishmente. whiche name in his tyme gat hym moche reuerence, and after ward great fame and renoume amonge his successours. fynally this moste towardly pryncce with incredible ioye was triumphantly conuayed by all the Senate and people, to the imperial palaice: where beinge left, he prepared hym selfe to the refozmation of the houle empire, than beinge in ruine.

The

The example of vertue gyven by Alexander in the fourme
of his lypunge and dayly custome. Cap. V.

IMMEDIATELY after that Alexander
by the consent of the Senate and people,
was stablyshed in the imperial authoritie,
and for his excellent goodnesse was moſte
ardently beloved of the multitude, also
the remembraunce of Heliogabalus and his adheren-
tes for they detestable vices beinge every where ha-
ted, and with detestation abhorred: This noble yonge
emperour takyng than oportunitie to restore the pub-
lyke weale to her pristinate fourme, with the maiestie
imperiall, late violated, and well nyghe perysshed,
throughe the negligence of the sayde monster.

He by the counsaile of his wise and vertuouse mo-
ther Ammea, fyrste purged his owne palaice, ex-
cludynge out of his courte and all offices, dishoneste
and infamed personages: and by noo meanes wolde
suffer to be in his householde any other, than by all
men shulde be thought necessary.

Moreover he openly protested, makynge an othe,
that he wolde neuer haue a superfluousse numbze of
seruauntes, to the intent that he wolde not greue the
publyke weale with his prouysion, sayyng, That em-
perour is a shewde puppl, that fedeth with the bo-
welles of his commons, men whiche be not necessary;
no; yet profytable to the weale publyke.

Howe moche he hated unklennesse of lypunge, he
well declared, whan he commaunded that no woman
infamed shuld salute or bysite his wife or his mother.
All his lyfe was a perfecte Example of Temperance.

His

His aparaile was wonderful cleane, but not to sumptuous, and after some mennes opinion, moze meaner than to his astate apperteyned. Semblable moderation the emperesse his wyfe obserued. Fynally durynge his tyme he vled diligente correction of his owne manners: wherfoze all noble men assayed to folowe hym. And all honozable women ensued the emperesses example.

And Alex-
ander.

Moreover this emperour was of suche an incomparable mansuetude, that he commaunded, that noo man shuld wyte vnto hym in any other fourme, than shulde be wytten to a ppyuate person, reseruyng the name of emperour. And also prohibited, that no man shulde call hym lord, but salute hym as one of the senators, and in this fourme, Be glad Alexander. And if a man hadde vled in gesture or speche any maner of flattery, he was eyther put backe, if the place so required, or els with a great laughter was mocked by them whiche were present.

And for as moche as he wold not be saluted or visited but of theym whiche were honeste, and of good fame, he decreed, that noo man shulde enter into his palaice, but onely suche as knewe them selues vncorrupted with notable vices. And caused to be proclaymed, that noo personne, knowynge hym selfe to be a thefe or extortioner, shuld be so hardy to salute the emperour, vpon payne of lesynge his lyfe. He hadde this sentence often tymes in his mouthe: Theues onelye complayne of pouertie, therby couetyng to hide their mischeuous lyuynge.

Fynally no daye passed, wherin he dydde not some thyng charitably, gentilly, or honozably, but that thynges

thynges he dydde in suche wyse, as therin he neyther consumed ne wasted the common treasure.

The procured seldom any condemnatiōs, but those that were done he neuer pardoned. The tributes or fee fermes of cities, he often tymes gaue to the repairinge and buyldinge of the same cities. Moreouer to dyuers poore men, of whose vertue or wysedome he hadde perfect knowlege, he lente of his Treasure to purchase landes, receyvinge agayne his owne money, onely of the rentes of the same landes, and lette the sayde personnes haue the possession and all other profyttes.

He wolde not suffer any of his courte to weare any garment myxt with golde, or other wyse precious or costely: nor he hym selfe dellyted in ryche apparayle, saying, That gouernaunce was in vertue and not in beautie or costly apparayle.

At his table he vsed no gold but pure berill & chrystal, and other like matter to drynke in: he exceded not CC.li. waight of syluer vessel in all his householde.

Precious stones that were giuen to him, he caused to be solde, estemyng it to be a womanly appetite to haue suche iewelles, whiche he mought neyther gyue to his souldiours, ne in haupng them fynde any profyte. Wherefore on a tyme whan an ambassadour had gyuen to the emperesse two orient perles of wonderful greatnesse, he commanded them to be solde. And whā no man coulde be founde that wolde gyue as moche as the pryce was esteemed, lest any euell example shuld procede of the emperesse, if she shulde be seene to weare that thyng, whiche noo manne coulde bye, he caused them to be hanged at the eares of the image of Venus:

C

nus:

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nus: therby declarynge, that such thynges eyther for the inestimable pryce was meter for goddes than for men, or for the vnprofytable beaultie therof, serued onely for persons of wanton appetites, whereof Venus was goddesse and patronesse.

C No lasse temperaunce vsed he in meates and drynkes, neuer excedynge foure sundrye kyndes of fleshe and fysh at one meale, and those with a great moderation and reason. He dranke wyne not skarsely, nor to moche, but competently.

In feastes or bankettyng he neuer wolde haue any wanton pastyme. His pleasure was to beholde birdes fyghtyng together. And therfore he had in his garden, places, where byrdes of sundry kyndes were inclosed and kept, wherin he toke synguler pleasure. Notwithstandynge to the intent that he wolde in noo thing aggrieue the market in feding them with corn, he had seruauntes that prouyded for theym egges of wilde foule and culuers.

In honeste recreation he was meruaylouse merie and pleasaunt, amiable in communication, at the table so gentyll, that euery man mought demaunde of hym what he wolde. And to the intent that he wold be the moze circumspecte, he ordeyned the wyse man Ulpiane, one of the greatest interpretours of the lawe ciuile, to be in the stede of his tutour, his mother repugnynge therat at the fyrste, but after she gaue hym therfore greatte prayses. Whan he dynd or supped a brode, he had euer with hym Ulpiane or other wel lerned men, to the intent he wold than here histories conteinynge lernynge, wherwith he sayde that he was bothe recreate and also fedde. If he satte pryuylye, he had

had a booke by hym and radde therein oftentimes, but that was in greke, for the more part. In open feastes he vsed the same simplicitie that he did in his palaice.

He so moche had flattery in hatred, that he wolde not here oratours or poetes speke any thyng to his pryse, callinge it folyshenesse: but he harde gladly orations, perswadyng to vertue, and also the actes of other good pryncis, as wel Romayns as Grekes, specially the pryse of Alexander the grete, whiche conquerd the more parte of the worlde.

He went oftentimes openly to the common scholes to here rhetoriciens and poetes grekes and latynes. He harde also oratours recityng causes, whiche they had prosecuted eyther before hym, or before the great officers.

Fynally he so moch esteemed and favoured lerning that he ordeyned greatte salaryes to be gyuen to the-
toricians, teachers of grammar, phisitions, astrono-
mers, geomettricians, musiciens, deuisers of building
and ingines. And prouided for theym places to reade
in, and scholars also, gpyng to poore and honeste
menne chyldren that hard them, they commons fre.
with lyke charitie he reteined aduocates in poore mens
causes. And suche lawyers as freely dyd helpe poore
menne with theyr counsaile and labour, he rewarded
them with coyne and wyne to maynteyne theyr house-
holde.

He also perelpe perused his lawes, and reformed
them accordyng as occasion changed or hapned. and
he hym selfe diligently and rigorously executed them
in his owne personne and seruantes. And therewith
was of suche gentylnesse, that he wolde offer to gyue

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place to the ancient Senatours that came vnto him. And wolde suffer no man of honestie that preaced to speke with hym, to be repelled. He neuer dyd wronge to any person, semblably of wronges he was a beehement and sharpe persecutour, sauinge, That in his owne wronge he was moche more tractable than in a straungers. If he laye not with his wyfe, he was in the moornyng betyme in his priue closet, where were sette the ymage of Chyste, also the pictures of Abraham, Socrates, Apollonius, and other uncient and vertuouse men, where, by the space of halfe an houre, he remayned in prayers. And for this deuotion and maruapulouse example of luyng, he was had of all men in wonderfull reuerence. All be it his temperate and sobre luyng, beyng thought of some men not agreeable nor congruente to his maiestie, he was exhorted to aduance his astate, bothe in princely porte, and more sumptuous maner of luyng, leauinge his affabilitie and strapte obseruation of his lawes, as it shall appere by letters folowynge, mutually wyrtten betwene hym and his counsaylours.

¶ The letter of Gordiane the senatour to the Emperour Alexander. Cap. vi.



HERE VVAS IN the citie of Rome an honozable Senatour named Gordiane, who hadde sometyme ben consul (whiche was the hyghest dignitie next to the emperour) and was the rychest man of all the citie, hauing the greatestt possessions in the countreys adioynynge, that any man had, the emperour onely except, and also was a man of excellent letning and

and wylsedome: wherfoze durynge the lyfe of Helio-
gabalus, this Gordiane, hauing his monstrous life
in abhominacion, and perceyving the maiestie of the
emppre to decay by his negligent and dissolute liuing
and that there was no hope of remedy, obseruyng the
tyme, he by lyttell and lyttell withdrew hym into su-
che places, as he had of his owne, ferre from the citie,
faynyng hym selfe to be greued with suche dysseases
as dyd debyltate his wyttes, and therfoze requyred
to be farre from resorte of company and moche noyse,
whiche beinge in the citie, he moughte not eschewe.
This excuse the emperour Heliogabalus herd glad-
lye, as he that feared and also hated the grauntie and
authoritie of Gordiane, and therfoze lycenced hym to
departe and remayne in the countreys, as long as it
lyked hym, thynkynge by his absente to be moze at li-
bertie, and to lyue moze wantonly: So with the empe-
rours fauour oꝝ rather folow, Gordiane quietly and al-
so pleasantlye passed the tyme that Heliogabalus ly-
ued. And whan he herde of the deathe of that monster,
he wolde not retourne to the citie, but sent his consent
of election to the senate, after that he knewe that by
assent of the people, Alexander was named emperour.
And whan he was required of the senate to come per-
sonally, he aggrauated his impedymment, alledgyng
sickenesse, although in dede, neyther in body noꝝ wyt
he was in any parte dysseased: but knowyng Alexan-
der to be very yonge, and also cousyn germaine to He-
liogabalus, he dyd in hym bothe the one & the other,
fearynge lest nature shoulde preyntle againe education,
whan he shoulde come to an absolute libertie, and be
out of the state of all correction. But soone after that

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Alexander was stablyshed in the empire, and that his vertues were commended and publyshed, Gozdiane reioycynge therat, toke therof meruapulous comforte. Albeit for his natie grauitie and stately courage, he lyked not the affabilitie and familiaritie that Alexander vsed, nowe beinge the chiefe pynce and souerayn gouernour of all the worlde: wherfore o he wolde make any accesse to his presence, he wolde proue his wysedome and vertue in admyttinge his counsailes, wherfore he wrote in this wyse vnto hym.

¶ NOBLE AND EXCELLENT pynce, the fame of your aduancement vnto the gouernaunce of the empire, was to me as it is vnto all the worlde, moste ioyfull tydynges, consydering the lamentable astate of our publyke weale, with the certayne hope that all men haue in you, beinge meued with your vertues incomparable, whiche dayly more and more ye do manifeste by your moste honorable example in lpyng, declared to all that do beholde, not only your royal persons, but also your seruantes and familiar companions. Among which vertues, your affabilitie and gentylnes haue acquyred no smal prayse amonge the people, as commonly they delyte in swete countenance, and myldenes of gouernours, wherein they truste to fynde more lybertie. But most noble pynce, although for these qualities, ye deserue prayse and loue of your subiectes, yet in the imperiall maiesty requyrez to be a more straunge countenance, and a feld and difficult accesse vnto your person, consydering that by the familiaritie of hym that is a mayster or gouernour, as well euill men as good, do receyue boldnes to speke, and they whiche be euill, do busply assaunt hym, either
with

with flatterye, or with detractynge of other, wherby
pryncis, although they be of good natures, and welle
brought up by their parentes, yet be they oftentimes
transformed into monsters, that is to say, into beastly
lyuers or rauenouse tyrantes. I ompt contempt, whi-
che induced by familiaritie, byngethe the subiecte to
disobedience. Let it not displease you, that I seme to
haue in your hyghnesse any suspition. Verily as a mā
that hath a faire and honest wife, wherby he is meued
to loue her entierly, wold not haue her gladly stand in
the market place, and admytte without discrepance e-
uery manne equally, and with lyke pleasaunt counte-
nance, suffer euery man to speake to her what he lyst;
although he knoweth her to be vertuous and constāt:
as welle for as moche as the naturall shamesfastnesse
that ought to be in a woman, may not admytte suche
open reioy and cōmunication, as also the eares that
be often assaulted, can not euer escape, but be they ne-
uer so well fortified with wisedome, at the laste lyke a
castell wall, they beinge soze shaken with many swete
wordes and long enteruien, they yeld at the last, pl cu-
stome expellynge shamesfastnes, and spynally all wise-
dome beinge reiected, and nothyng set by. Semblably
moſte excellent prync, your persone is to the senate as
dere as the wyfe to her hus bande, and for your fayre
vertues we of good reason ought to be so ialous ouer
you, that wplyngly we shoulde not beholde you falle
into any custome, whiche mought allure you into any
pl disposition, remembryng the late calamitie that the
cite and empire were brought vnto by your most mō-
struous pdecessour Marius Hellogabalus. wherfore
lyke as now ye be to hym most contrarious in lyuing,
so.

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So we desyre to haue you resyst al occasiō, that mought
 geue neuer so lytel a pathe for flatterers, detractours,
 and promoters of vice, to entre into your counsaile or
 fauour. Who can aduaunte hym selfe to be well assu-
 red from this nette of hypocrisie, whyche hath (as I
 mought say) sundry and dyuers meshes of flatteryn-
 ges, whiche vneth any man can escape that wyl tarpe
 vntyll the nette be cast ouer hym: The remedye than
 is eyther with maiestie to repell it, or to cut it asunder
 with sharp rebukes: and that in the ptesence of other:
 or so greuouesly to persecute alway those hypocrites,
 I do meane flatterers, with open punysshment, that al
 mē may knowe & abhorre them. And that other therto
 by nature inclyned, may be euer aferde of lyke experi-
 ment. But the fyrst way is most sure vndoutedly. For
 rebuke and punysshment commeth after the daunger,
 but maiestie pcedeth, and therfore more profytteth.
 For suche persones rebuked or punyshed, perchaunce
 excusynge them selfe that they do it by to ardent affe-
 ction and desyre to please, or by their youth and lacke
 of experiēce, or recognysing their foly, and promisyng
 amendment, may happen eftsones to crepe into fauor
 and than they worke their nette soo fynely, that it can
 not so sone be perceyued, and pytcheth it more couert-
 ly, applienge it aptly to their maisters conditions, soo
 that it shalbe almost impossible for hym to escape, but
 that in one meithe or other he shall be tangled. Con-
 trarywise by maiestie (that is to saye, statelpe counte-
 naunce and difficulte accesse) ioynd with wysedome,
 impresseth such reuerence, that men not only do feare
 to appoche vnto their soueraygne lord, oneles they
 be called, but also to speake any thyng, whereby they
 beinge

beinge discouered, shulde lose their credence, hoppyng neuer againe to recouer it, consydering that by maiestie and wisdom, the accesse to the pynce is made impenetrable, sens to them that neuer offended he is soo harde and diffuse to be spoken vnto. Thus to your maiestie haue I shewed myne opinion, wherfore yf by my counsaile ye do leaue your affabilitie, and familiar accesse, and imbrace grauitie and princelye astate, ye shall be saufe from the perylls that I haue rementibred, and haue equal honour with your pzedecessors, whiche wolde not be sene of the people but seldome, and oftentimes with a courtayne befoze theyr visage, spyttyng in theyr place of astate, whiche they toke of the Persianes. for thynges seldome seene be mooste esteemed: and they that be frequent and often in eye, be lyttell regarded, whiche as ye increase in age, and experience, ye shal find true, and so be wyrtten of a faithfull counsaillour, that despyeth the increace of your vertue, with the publike weale of our most noble citie and empire.

The answere of Alexander to the letters of
Gordiane. Capi. vii.

WHAN THE Emperour Alexander had receyued and radde the sayd letters of the senatour Gordiane, he seemed to reioyce moze therat, than at all the honours and titles that were giuen him by the Senate and people, sayinge with a loude voyce: Yet there remaineth some hope in the publike weale, that it shall not utterly perishe, sence we haue Gordiane the Senatour left to assiste vs. And therewith he called for
D his

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h.s tables, and immediately made to hym aunswere,
as hereafter ensueth.

Q GORDIANE honorable father, howe moche better had the Senate and people of Rome prouyded for theyr publyke weale, if they had taken you to be theyr Emperour, haupnge regarde to your auncientie and excellent wysedome, where, in me they fynde nothyng but frayle youthe, and lacke of experience, for onelye detestation of the neglygence of my predecessour, with the desyre that I haue to increase vertue, hath sowed of me suche opinion amonge the Senate and people, that not remembryng you (perchaunce for lacke of your presence) they haue inhabilled me to this estate aboue my merites. Vterply no man douteth, but that ye being borne in the citie of a ryght auncient and noble house of the Romans, as of your fathers syde issuing from the honorable senatours called Gracchus, and by your mother descended from Traiane the emperour, mought with that grauitie and sternesse, whiche is in you, as it were by nature ingenerate, and amonge the people of Rome, aboue forty yere in the principall dignities experienced, mooste honorabylly haue meynteyned the imperial maiestie. Where I beinge borne a straunger, and my bloude (although it proceded of the noble house of Metellus) beinge to the moze part of the senate and people vnknown, am constrainned to auaile that maiestie, that in you shulde be comendable, and in the stede of your grauitie and sadnesse, to vse towarde all men affabilitie and suche fourme of gentylnesse, whiche ye seme in me rather to prohibite than to dispraise, lest that my noueltie shuld cease to be pleasante vnto the people, if by my sharpnesse

nessie of straunge countenance I shulde seeme to deceyue them in theyr opinion. Remembre you not, that the haulte countenance and the difficulte accessse, whiche was in Tarquine the laste kynge Romaines, acquired to him that odious surname to be called Tarquine the proude: and althoughe that he were bothe valyaunt in warres, and in garnysynge the cite very industriouse, yet whanne occasion and oportunitie hapned of rebellion, the people beinge broughte into fury, declared than howe moche moze they hated hym than they dyd feare hym, ne had hym for his noble actes in any estimation or reuerence. Howeuer whan they hadde expelled hym out of the cite, to the intent they moughte haue moze familiar accessse vnto theyr gouernours, and fynd in them moze affabilitie, from thense forth vnto the tyme of Caius Cesar, they perely elected newe gouernours, calling them Consules, as it were counsaillours: supposyng that in theyr time of auctoritie, the remembraunce that they shoulde be priuate personnes the nexte yere folowynge, shulde cause them to vse the people the moze sampliarily and also gentilly. And whan those officers beinge of long tyme chosen of the nobilitie onely, became in proesse of tyme haulte mynded and sterne towardes the communalitie, the people with long sedition compelled the Senate to loyne at the last, with a noble man in that office one of theyr company.

C Julius Cesar with affabilitie, mercy, and gentynesse became so puissaunt, that neyther the Senates auctoritie, nor the prowesse incomparable of the great Pompei, nor yet the inextinguishable armies prepared agaynst hym, had power to resiste hym. yet shortly

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after that he had decreed, that no man shuld appoche hym, and became in his countenaunce and wordes moze stately, he was slayne in the middell of the citie by fyfty Senatours onely.

The great Alexander beinge so familiar and gentyll amonge his people, that he dyd not onely bysytte homely theyr paulyons and halys, mynystrynge to them al thyng that they lacked, but also suffred them to come to hym boldely, and often tymes to speake to hym rudely, he dyue them with hym into the furthest partes of the worlde, into moste barayne and dangerous countreyes: and by moste gentyll perswasions vainquished nature, whiche abhorred the tedypouse iournayes, the trauayles intollerable, the benemous stingyng of serpentcs, the hungre and thyrst that sundry tymes hapned, and other incommodyties and incredible labours, which mought not withdawe them from folowynge theyr prynce, so moche his most amiable gentylnesse subdued theyr appetites. But after that he folowynge the kynges of Persia (whome ye see me to prayse in your letters) vsed a moze pompeuse estate than he was accustomed, and neyther wolde beholde or speake to his people famlyarlye, nor suffer them to speake to hym freely, howe sone after, chaunged they than theyr coppe: and as his affabiltye decayed, and pryde increased, so theyr louynge affection towarde hym, in lyke wyse relented, whiche constrained hym to omytte part of his enterpryse, and retozne vnto Babylon, where amonge his frendes at a banquet, he was destroyed with popson.

The incomparable humanitie and gentylnesse of noble Germanicus (who shulde haue succeded Tiberius

rius in the empire, if the treason of Diso had not frustrate the trust of the people) caused his sonne Caius, beinge yet in his cradell to be so fauored throughout the army, that they haupnge hym with his mother Agrippina among them, toke no lasse care for hym, than if he had ben propre sonne to eueryche of them, which loue in suche wyse remayned, that immediately nexce after Tyberius, they made him emperour, who in the begynnyng of his reigne, vsyng the humanitie of his noble father, gouerned the empire quietly, as he that was meruaylously beloued of the people. But whan to aduaunce his maiestie, he became straunge, counterfaytynge his visage in a glasse into a terrible grauitie, couetyng to seme fearefull vnto the people: and whan he was openly sene, which was but seldome, he syttyng in apparell all of golde, laded with iewelless, compelled the senate and people to worshyp hym, as god, howe sone after was his statelynes tourned into mockery, and he beinge of all men abandoned, was lyke an horrible monstre flayne, and drawen through the cytie :

Consyder the affabilitie and gentylnesse of the noble Augustus, Titus the sonne of Vespasian, Nerua, Traiane, Antonine called Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, whome no man can derogate of any parte of honour and wysedome, and see where ye maye therwith compare any sturdye grauitie, or haulte and straunge countenaunce of any other emperour or prince. Certes Gordiane honourable father, he moche erreth (in myn opinyon) that preferreth feare befoze loue, without the whiche (wytnesseth Socrates) nothyng either with god or with man maye dure or abyde. Feare de-

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Quæ me
tunt o de
runt, &
quem odi
unt peris
se experit
Ennius.

pendeth on loue, and withoute loue it is soone had in contempt. Suppose not ye, that he was a wyse man that sayde, Men whom they feare they hate, and whom they hate, they wolde were destroyed: Wyse dome causeth men to be honoured, lyberalitie to be meruayled at, but gentylnesse and affabilitie onely to be harttly loued. Grauitie procedeth of wysedom, and consisteth not in countenance, but is compacte of two vertues, Constance & Prudence. Wherefore it can neuer be counterfayte, if the actes be well expended and tryed. For where it lacketh, the said two vertues, it is either nicenes and to be laughed at, or els pride outragious and to be abhorred and hated. But affabilitie can neuer be vicious. for though it be in one that lacketh discretio, yet by lybertie of speche, whiche increaseth therby, he shalbe so oftentymes warned, that he shall defalcate that thyng that semeth superfluous. As the accesse of flatterers or detractours, to hym that mortally hateth them, can bynge any damage. For he is to moche a foole that wyll shew his brest naked vnto his enemy. And to hym that is surely armed, it is no perill though his ennemy assaut hym, ye perchance if his enemy find hym inuincible, he shall afterwarde be aferde to approche hym.

¶ Thus haue ye father Gordiane, not onely myne opinion herein, but also my determinate sentence, not therby dyspraysynge your honourable grauitie, whiche for the causes that I haue reherced, is in your person right laudable, but in me, beinge not so well known in this citie amonge the Romains, which of their nature be free, and were neuer in seruitude, it semeth not to be so expedient. Albeit if I reygned in Persia, where

where the people from the begynnyng haue ben best gouerned by tyranny, I wolde perchaunce otherwyle do, chaungyng affabilitie into strangenes and statelly countenance, which improperly (in myn opynon) ye in your letters haue named Maiestic. Thus fare ye wel, and haste you to retorne vnto the senate, whiche with me despyeth the presence of your excellent wysdome. Soone after the emperour Alexander, beinge elected consul, he solicyted the senate and people to electe also Gordiane into that offyce, assuryng that his yowthe required for the vtilitie of the publyke weale to be toynd with suche a companon as Gordiane was, whose wysdome, experience, and grauitie, was of all men sufficiently known.

The fyrst practyse of Alexander in reducyng of the empire into his ppyssinate honour. Cap. viii.

THE NOBLE AND prouidente ladye Hanniea, mother of the emperour Alexander, consyderynge her sonne to be nowe entred into the moste dangerous passage of youth, being but. xvi. yeres olde, feared lest the excellency of his estate (as it oftentimes hapned to other) shulde incite hym to assay thynges, whych the frayle nature thynketh delectable, and tastynge ones of them, his tender youth mought not withstande the assautes of pleasaunt affections, wherby he mought esteemes byrnyng the empyre into ruine and infamy, and hym selfe and all his bloud to vtter destruction. Therfore she perceyuing hym to be obedient to her exhortations, (in dede she was a woman of moche wysdome and holynesse, but that she was

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was somewhat noted of couetyse) she with good reason perswaded to hym, that he coulde neuer wel stablyshe his astate Imperyall, but onely by reducyng of the senate and people into their pryncipall order, whiche coulde neuer be brought to passe, except that fyrste his owne palaice were cleane purged of personages corrupted with vices, and into their places men of approved vertue and wysedom elected. And semblably that to the example of the emperorours owne householde, the sondry dignities and offices in the weale publik were aptly distributed: considering that the princis palaice is lyke a common fountayne or springe to his cite or countrey, wherby the people by the cleannes therof be longe preserued in honestie, or by the impurenes thereof, are with sundry vices corrupted. And vntylle the fountain be purged, there can neuer be any sure hope of remedy.

Wherfoze Alexander immediatly after that he had receiued of the senate and people the name of Augustus, wherunto was annexed the entier power and iurisdiction imperiall, wherby he mought commaunde or prohibite what he thought moste conuenient, fyrste he dyscharged all minysters, whiche the monstrous beast Heliogabalus hadde vndyscretely promoted of most vyle and dys honest personages, banysing also out of his palaice, al such as he mought by any meanes knowe, to be persones infamed. semblably flatterers, as well those, whiche therfoze were fauoured of his predecessour, as theym, whom he apprehended abusing hym with semblable falsehood. Accorpyng to that example he reformed the hole senate and iudges, and also all other dignities and offices in the publike weale.

weale. In lyke maner he purged his garrisons and men of warre, and corrected their lyberties and priuileges, gyuen vndiscretely to theym by other emperours, or by them misused.

Howouer with all speede conuenient, by the aduise of Alplane his tutour, Frontinus, and other the wiseste men of the Senate, he with all diligence elected out of all partes of the empire, a conuenient and honorable company of wyse & honorable counsaylours. This numbre were the moſte excellent lawyers, of whose sentences is made the texte of the lawe cyuile, gathered in the bookes named the Digestes. There was also Fabius Cabinus, surnamed Cato for his singular wysedome. Also Gordiane, of whom I late dyd wyte, a man of moche grauntie and noblenesse, whose sonne was afterwarde emperoure. Howouer there was Claudius Uenatus a noble and eloquent oratour, Also Catilius Seuerus, kinsman to the emperour, moſte excellently lerned aboue all other, Serecianus a man of great perfectiō and grauntie, And Catus Marcellus, who was of such vertue and goodnesse, that neuer hystorie remembred a better. These good and honorable personages, with many other not of moche lasse estimation, at all tynes and places attended vpon that noble Emperour: of the whiche Alplane was in maner his chauncellour or keper of the imperiall monimentes: And the Emperour had hym for his chiefe counsaylour.

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In what fourme the Emperour Alexander had his counsaile, whiche
alwaie attended vpon his person. Cap. ix.

Bebius
Macrinus



THE fourme of Alexanders Counsaile, was as hereafter ensuith. Fyyste all matters & causes ciuile of great importance, he caused to be examined and brought in order by the great lawiars befoze rehersted of whom Ulpiane was chiefe, and they made true re-
pote therof vnto hym. Moreover he wolde neuer make decree or ordinaunce without. xx. lawiars sub-
stancially lerned, and fyfty other expert men and elo-
quente, and that was done after this maner. Euery mans opinion and sentence was throughefly and qui-
etly herde, without interruption or altercation. Ther-
to were assigned. viii. secretaries or clerkes, men of
quicke and substanciall memory, who in bryefe notes
or siphers made for that purpose, wrote euery worde
that by those counsaylours was spoken. Moreover a
competent tyme was gyuen to euery counsaylour to
studye, and seeke for suche reason as he wolde pur-
pose, to the intent they shulde not speake vnadvisedly
in thynges of importaunce.

It was also this Emperours custome, that whan
he treated of lawes and matters polytike, he called
thereto lerned men, and suche as were eloquent and
well reasoned. If he commoned of matters touchyng
warre and hostilitie, he called to hym olde and expert
capitaynes, whiche hadde valyantly acquitted them
selues in sundry battayles. Also theym that were ex-
perte in the situation of places, pitchynge of fieldes,
and preparation of campos. He wolde also here dy-
uerse,

uerse, whiche were perfectly and typely instructed in histories, inserchynge by them what the Emperours and princis as wel Romayns as of other nations befoze that tyme, had done in semblable causes, as were at that tyme in reasonynge. And after that all they opinions and sentences were wyrtten, by the secretaries (as is befoze mencioned) and that they cōferring to gether, had made therof one perfecte minute of euery mannes sayinge, and deliuered it to the Emperour with as moche haste as was possyble: Than he in a place secreete perbysynge the mynute, and assemblinge and ponderynge the sentences throughe, after a competent tyme therein bestowed, eyther gatheringe of them one perfecte conclusion, or elles addynge to some thyng of his inuentton, he synally opened his conceipt amonge all his counsaillours, whom he had befoze harde, not withstandynge he gaue to them libertye, eyther to allowe his sentence, or if any man had any thyng newly deuised, estones to declare it. And that sentence, whiche was of mooste wyse men approued, that alwaye preuayled, and he therto consented, and caused it with al diligence to be put in experience. For he was of suche moderation of mynde, that nothyng moze pleased him, than to here any man with a substanciall and trewe rayson to confute his oppynion: whiche caused hym to bypunge to passe thynges to be meruayled at. But nowe I will I declare the oration that he made in the Senate, after that he had sette in good order his owne propre householde.

C. 11.

The

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¶ The oration of Alexander to the Senate, Ca. x.



THE INESTIMABLE maiesty of this empire (as ye well knowe honorable fathers) lyke as it toke begynnynge and increase of prowesse and politike wisdom, soo by the same and lyke meanes it muste be conserued. Our most noble progenitour and founder of this empire, the valiant Romulus being in his tender infancy caste out of the palaice, and nourished amonge the pooze herdmen, with sustaynyng moche hunger, cold, & continual trauaile, achieved this lytel portion of ground, wherein nowe standeth the principall ruler & mastresse of all the worlde. To the ayde of his prowesse he added to, the quiet and vigilant studye of rude shepardes olde and decrepyte, whose bodies beinge macerate with labours, and made feble with age, although they mought nothyng profyte in battayle, yet they wyttes beinge confirmed by longe experience, and free from the veration of wanton affections, they no lasse aduanced and set forth the enterpryse of the couragious Romulus, than dyd the diligence and prowesse of his lusty souldiours. Neither his strength or courage, ne the wyttes of his rude seruants became so excellent, as it seemed at that tyme to be, by feedynge superfluously, by beastely idelnes, or wanton pastymes, but onely by temperaunce in luyng, vigilant prouidence, and contynuall exercyse: wherby strength is nourished, and wyttes be increased: Like as by the other the strength of body is resolved, and the wyttes be consumed or vnprofytably dispersed. And certes lyke as the fyrste is proued to be true

true by the example before declared, and many other
succeeding that tyme: so the last is semblably verified
by late experience, and whereof the steppes yet do re-
mayne to our no lyttell grieve and displeasure: consi-
dering that thereby this noble empire is lyke to falle
into extreme ruine, and perpetuall infamye, onelesse
your moste excellent wysedomes wyllyllyngly and
constantly prepare your selves to the certayne remedy
agaynst this peryll intollerable, whiche remedy onely
shall be the purging and reformation as wel of this
moste honourable company of senatours, as of all o-
ther dignities and estates in the weale publyke. In
the whiche inquisition we desyre none other preroga-
tive, but that it may take his fyrste begynnyng at our
proper palatce and householde, and in our owne per-
sone to be fyrst executed, to the intent that the pyncipal
fountayne, beinge founde cleane, the renmant of our
subiectes, whose order of lyving proceedeth of our ex-
ample as ryuers and sundry lakes from a hed spring
whiche is set on a mountayne, maye with lyttell diffi-
cultie be more easily purged. No other estate or pre-
eminence wyllyllylly require, but where yowth refuseth in
me the most reuerende name of father of the countrey,
whiche ye offered vnto me, yet condescendyng to parte
of your gentyll requestes, I wyllylly gladly receyue the
names and titles of protectour of the senate and tri-
bune, or els if better do lyke you, defender of the Ro-
mayn people. And on that behalfe, I require you, for
the approbation of my sincere loue to the publyke
weale, that accordyng to the auncient and laudable
custome of this noble citie, ye wyllylly cause to be chosen
Censores or correctours of maners, such personages
C.iii. as

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as neuer were infamed with any vyce notable, and whose lyues be inculpable, and therewith be sufficient-ly furnyshed with wysedom and grauitie, boyde also of all pꝛiuate affection, feare, auarpyce, and flatterye, who lyke good surgeons, shal not forbear with cor-rosyue and sharpe medicines, to dꝛawe out the festred and stynkyng coꝛes of olde marmolles and inuete- rate soꝛes of the weale publyke, ingendꝛed by the longe custome in vice. To the which remedy, as a ne- cessary minister, I shal put to my pꝛopꝛe handes and assistance vnto the dethe. Leauynge remembrance af- ter me, that in makynge me your emperour, ye nothing haue appaired of the impetyal maiestie, but haue ad- uaunced it with the publyke weale of your citie. To the ratification of the whiche iudgement of you noble fathers, I shal apply holly my study, trauayle, and diligence, callynge god to wytnesse, that the senate and people of Rome, shal sooner fayle the publyke weale, than I shal leaue any part of my duetie.

Howe the correctours of maners, called Censoꝛes, were es- lected, and with what rygour they executed their offyce by the commandement of Alexander. Cap. xi.



HE SAYDE oration of the emperour Alexander beinge fynysshed, a wonder- full reioysing entred into the hartes of the senatours, whych were vertuous & honorable, and being replenished with ioye, they all spake on hygh with one voyce, saying, Emperour Alexander, god euer pꝛeserue the. God sent the vnto vs. God euer defende the. God hath de- lyuered the frome the vncleane Heliogabalus. God kepe

I ampris
dius.

kepe the perpetuallpe. Thou dyddest longe tollerato that myscheuous tyrant, thou doest lament his abhominable liuing. and at the last god hath delpyered the and vs also of hym, and to this hath brought the.

After these and many mo congratulations made to the emperour, he gyuyng to the senate condigne thanks, departed to his palaice. And shortly after there were chosen by the comon consent of the senate & people, foure Censores, two to remayne in the cite, & other two fo; Italy. & the prouinces vnder the name of latines: from whens were electe fo; the moze part senatours, iudges, and other chiefe offycers, whiche had iurisdiction and authoritie to gyue any sentence. The Censores fo; the cite were Fabius Sabinus, and Catilius Seuerus, men of excellent wysedome and grauitie. And fo; the prouynces were made Quintilius Marcellus, and Caius Manlius, men of auncient nobilitie and great seueritie.

Marius
Maximus

The office of Censores was to note the maners of euery person, whiche was in any degree of honour, that is to say, aboue the astate of the common people, wherin was shewed suche rygour, that no man was spated, so that if a knyght, a iuge, o; a senatour, had vsed any vnseemely thynge, appaynyng o; staynyng the estimation of the degree, whych he represented, it was in the authoritie of the Censores to degrade hym o; dyscharge hym of his office o; dignitie.

Offyce of
Censores.

Sone after the sayde election, they made Alexander consul: who with al diligence procured, that Aelius Gordianus, of whome I late spake, was made his companion in the Consulate, wherat some of the people grudged, fearynge lest the sturdynesse and haulte

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haulte courage of Gordiane, shulde chaunge the incomparable gentylnes of Alexander into crueltie and pryde: but it succeeded all other wise, for the wyle emperour, by the exquisite grauitie of his companion, refourmed so his nature, whiche was in wyle mennes opinion moze easy and simple than apperteyned to the imperiall estate, that by all mennes iudgement he became in moderation of vertues of all other incomparable.

The Censores immediately after that they were elected, biglyantly and sharply executed theyr offyces. For fyrste they discharged oute of the Senate all suche whych by Heliogabalus, for theyre abhominable luynges or flatterye, were thereto promoted. Semblably they purged the order of knyghtehode, disgradyng all knyghtes, whiche were shameles lechours, maynteyners of theues, or theyr theym selues robbers. In lyke wyse all those which of baudes, rufyanes, carters, cookes, and other lyke reprocheable persons were by Heliogabalus put in authoryte. The same industry they vled in refourmyng Judges, and other heed offycers, as well in the citie as about in the prouinces. Finally none estate or degree escaped their rebuke or correction. For the emperours palatse was exempt from their iurisdiction: In so moche as Aurelius Philippus, who was sometyme a bondeman, not withstanding that he was manumysed, and had ben the emperours scholenaister, and after wyse his lyfe, forasmoche as he dyd ryde in a chariot, and wold be saluted as a senatour, the Censores caused hym to be ladde to pryson, and prohybited hym for comynge to the emperours palatse, but onely on foote, and his copped

copped cappe on his head, whiche facion ouely was
 bled of them that were infranchised. And althoughe
 fo: his good letnyng and honestie, some noble men
 aduised the emperour, that he shoulde require the Cen-
 sores, that they shoulde withdraue they: rygour in
 correctyng Phillippe, consyderyng that he had ben
 sometyme his scholemaster: He nothyng wolde doo,
 to let o: restrayne the sharpe correction of the Censo-
 res, but moch extollyng they: constance, he answered:
 If the common weale maye haue euer suche officers, „
 in shorte space there shall be founde in Rome mo men „
 worthy to be Emperours, thanne I at my commyng „
 founde good Senatours. „

And immediately he ordeyned, that there shoulde
 neuer lybertine, that is to saye, any man of a bonde
 auncetout be of the Senate, sayinge: That the order
 of kynghthode was the place frome whense were fet-
 ched the plantes of the Senate, that is to saye: frome
 whense the Senatours were elected. Not with stan-
 dyng he purchased a goodly mancion, with sufficy-
 ent reuenues, not ferre from Rome, whiche he gaue
 to the sayde Phillippe, sayinge to hym: Before I was
 Emperour, I disdeyned not to folowe thy doctryne:
 Nowe be thou as well contented, fo: the increas of
 myn honour & of the weale publike, to obey to myn or-
 dynance. And although the maiestie of the Citie may
 not permytte the to be openly receyued in the numb:re
 of our familiars, yet priuy resorte shall approue our
 fauour towarde the, not losse, but increased.

Of suche meruaylous seueritye was this Empe-
 rour, that noo kynde of affection o: pryuate appetite
 mought reflecte hym from the sharpe execution of his
 lawes

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lawes or lawdable customes of the cite, as moze per
shall appere in the chapiter folowynge.

Of the great prudence of Alexander used in the election of his
counsaillours and officers. Capi. xii.

IN OFTEN tymes hapneth, that where
god dothe orname a prynce with naturall
gyftes, and also great vnderstandynge and
sharpenesse of wytte, he for lacke of electi-
on (whiche is a greate parte of prudence)
hauynge about hym counsaillours, companions, and
officers vnnmete or vnworthy, maketh the sayde orna-
mentes vnprofitable, or peraduenture incommodious
to the weale publyke, whereof, he hath gouernaunce,
wherby the renoume, whiche were condigne, and as it
were incident to rare and excellent qualities, is losse
and dyeth with the body, or els (whiche is moche warse)
is touned to perpetuall reproche and dishonour: whi-
che the Emperour Alexander circumspectly consyde-
rerynge, he with an incomparable studye prepared
for him selfe certayne rules of election, as hereafter fol-
loweth.

Rules
wherby a
Prynce
shulde es-
lect coun-
saillours.

If fyrste he determyned to loue all, that was vertue,
and to hate all, that was vyce, in what person so euer
the one or the other shulde happen.

Also what so euer pleasure or commoditie mought
come to hym by embracynge or tolleratyng of any no-
table vyce, he wolde rather lacke it, though it were
to his detryment, than to be seene to chaunge his opi-
nion, lest any man shuld therby take occasyon to com-
mende vyce.

And

And for as moche as vnder his Empire were dyuerse and sundry nations, whereof also the people by naturall disposition be dyuersely inclyned to vertue or vice, he therfore applyed him selfe to knowe the sundry wyttes, maners, affectes, and studyes of men, bothe in euery region countrey and notable cite, throughout the worlde: whiche knowlege he apprehended soo exquisitely, as wel by studious readinge of many histories and other notable markes of morall philosophye, as by dilygent examyninge of capytaynes, and marchantes, whiche had trauelyed and benne in sundry countreys: wherby he was wonderfully holpen in his elections and iugementes, as it shal hereafter appere.

He wolde neuer accepte commendation of any personne, befoze that he hym selfe had spoken with hym, and that by secrete scrutiny he had ben truly informed of hym. And yet the commendation that he wolde afterwarde here, shulde be a parte, none other manne herynge, but hym selfe, lest if manye were presente, and he that commended were in auctorytie, other hearers althoughe they knewe the contrary, shuld eyther asseyne a false commendation, or elles feare to saye truthe, if they shulde be therof demaunded.

In them that were counsaylours, he vtterly abhorred ambition and flattery. In iudges, he hated with extreme detestation couetyse and wyathe. In bothe the one and the other he loued Syncertye, vulgarly cal-
Sinceritie.

The perfecte knowledge of mennes conditions, he had not by the repoyte of theyr superiours or equalles, ne by them whiche dwelled farre from the habytation of those whom they praysed, but by the examynation

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of they? nyghest neybour, being men of honesty, and not they? ennemyes. And that was practised by suche of his owne yemen as were moste auncient and sage: whiche fyndynge occasion to ryde throughe the countreys, whete they were neyther bozne no? had possessions, shulde make this dyligente scrutiny o? serche. And to suche maner of personnes the common people wold moze familiarly and playnely declare they? opinions than to gentylmen o? men in auctoritie. But if the Emperour perceyued afterwarde, that he had ben vntruely informed by any of his sayd espialles (whiche sometymes he dyd by further experience, as being in his progresse, o? hym selfe heyrng and discussynge complayntes of the common people openly and with a great delyberation and grauitie) he than extremely and without hope of remission, punished the false reporters, were it in prayse o? detraction: causynge their tungenes to be perced throughe with a hotte brennyng iron, and to be banysshed his courte and ptesence for euer. whiche punishment, althoughe it wyll seme to some men soze and cruel, yet consyderynge, that vsing this meane, he was neuer deceyued by counsaylours, and also that Justice was dewely executed by theym that were in auctoritie, that maner of rigour maye be thoughte necessary and verp expediente. Also the punishmente beinge in a fewe executed at the begynnyng, the seueritie of the prynce became so terryble, that men so greuouusely feared hym, that neyther desyre, rewarde, no? dreade of any other man coulde let the sayde espialles to repozte thewelve, accordynge as they had founden by they? diligent scrutiny.

¶ One meruaylous catwrell he vled, that is to saye:
One

One man was not oftentimes in that truste of espy-
all. And those personages were chosen and appoy-
ned onely by hym selfe, without makynge any other
man priuie, vntill he had dephehended them with some
maner of falshode.

Espynallye he was of suche a wonderfull discretion
and sobrenesse, that no repozte coulde bypunge him out
of pacience, oꝛ into suspition, vntyll he had well try-
ed the repozte with some praty experyence, as it shall
be declared hereafter.

And thus I make an ende of the fyrste parte of his
gouernaunce, whiche was in orderynge of his owne
person and courte: wherby principally he broughte
not onely the citie of Rome but also al the hole empire
(not withstandinge the beastely lycence brought in by
Heliogabalus) in as good estate as euer it was in the
tyme of any of his moſte noble progenitours.

*Howe extremely Alexander hated extorcioners and byp-
bours, and howe moche he fauoured theym
that were vertuose. Cap. viii.*

THE EMPEROVR Alexander had suche
indignation towardeſ theym that were ex-
torcioners oꝛ bypbours, that yf by chance he
espied any of them, he was therewith so gre-
ued, that he immediately wolde bomite by colar, and
his face beinge as it were on a fyre, of a longe tyme
mought not speake one worde. On a tyme one Sep-
timius Arabinus, who in the tyme of Heliogabalus
was a famous bypbour, came in the company of Se-
natours, to salute the emperour Alexander, who be-
holdyng hym sayde with a lowde voyce: O lord god,
beholde,

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behold, Arabinus not only lyueth, but also presumeth to be in the senate. peraduenture he trusteth in me, iudgyng me to be an ignorant and folysh emperor. **¶** Moreover he ordeined, that where there were founden any extortioners, or bybours, that they shuld be openly examined and iudged, and by the gouernours of countreyes sente into exyle. Whan he was in his progresse, suche as were gouernours or Justices in prouynces, whom he herde worthily comended without synister affection, he wolde in his iourney take them into his houselyghter, comynynge with them of the state of their countrey, and honourynge them with rewardes, saying, That lyke as extortioners and bybours are to be impoucrishyd, so good men and iuste are to be entyched.

¶ In heryng the complayntes of his souldyours agaynst their capitaynes, if he founde any capytayne faulty in that thing, wherof he was accused, forthwith he caused hym to be punished after the qualitie of his offence, without any hope of remysion. Semblablye dyd he to his souldiours and seruauntes. For where they iniustely greued any persone, he corrected them sharply, and with a meruaylous austeritie.

¶ To one of his secretaries, which forged an untrue byll in his counsaile, he comanded the synewes of his fyngers, wherewith he dyd wyte, to be cutte, and so to be utterly banysed. wherfore he was called Seuerus, whiche is as moche to say as sharpe or rigorous: for seueritie is rygour in punishment, accordynge to the qualitie of the offence, haupyng respecte to a good purpose, without any desyre of vengeance. And it is that parte of Justice, that consysteth in execution: the

the commendation whereof shall appere in the nexte chapter.

A notable example given by Alexander in repressynge an ambitious and vayne glorious counsaillour. Cap. xiiii.



SUPPOSE IT shall not be tedious to good men to here one incomparable example of the severitye of this meruaylous emperour, whiche although it shall seeme to many that shall here it, to be ouer vehement and greuous, yet in readdyng the chapter nexte followinge, it shalbe sufficiently declared by the wordes of the same emperour, that his sayd rygour in iugement was necessarye vsed, and with equaltye in iustyce, deseruyng in no parte to be repressed, but nowe wyll I reherce the sayde story.

There was aboute the sayde Emperour a man of great honour called Metronius Turinus, whome for his great wytte and sagenes in apparance, the emperour had in syngular fauour, in so moche as he called hym to his priuie counsaile, and vsed to be with hym more samplar than he was comonly with any other, whiche so moche blynded the inward eye of Turinus, that he coulde not se in hym selfe, whych he not longe befoze had condemned in other. suche incomparable sweteness is founde in the familiar company of princis. wherfore lyke as whan the companions and seruantes of Ulysses had eaten abundantly of the herbe called Lotos, the taste therof was so pleasant and meruaylous, that all that ate therof, forgettynge their owne propre countrey, coueted to remaine styll in that region, where that herbe grewe, and but only by violence.

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lence they coulde not be broughte to their shypes, to retourne to their propre houses: semblably Turinus after that he had ben with the emperour in an inward and secrete familiaritie, he founde it so pleasant, that forgetting from whence he was callyd, and takynge lyttell hede of any other parte of his offyce, he put his hole study and delectation to augment the oppinion of men, that thought that the emperour wolde nothyng do, without his aduysse, wherby he shulde be magnified and honoured aboue all other of the emperours counsaylours. And therfore he had contynuall suite made vnto hym, as well by them that had suites to the Emperour in their particular causes, as others that looked for offyces or great promotions. To euery man a parte he wolde promyse his fauour, and therfore receyued great rewardes & presentes. but synally whom he knewe that the emperour had preferred in offyce, or anye thynge determyned in his iuste cause. (for that moughte he knowe beinge with the Emperour soo secrete, although the good emperour dydde nothing by his perswasion only, but by prudent aduysse and good delyberation, as it shall hereafter appere) on hym wolde he becke, if he were in the chamber. And often tymes in a day he wolde come from the emperour into the chaumber of ptesence, or place, where suiters awaited, and of whom he had receyued money, to them wolde he say, that he had remembred them, and in their request or matter receiued good comfort, whan in dede he spake not therof one worde. Synally by the colour of this familiar and secrete recourse that he had to the emperour, he gathered moche treasure: but at the last dyuers, and in great numbze, to whome he hadde promysed

promysed that thyng that they sued for, not withstan-
 dyng they receiued nothing in conclusion but noddies
 with the heed, founde them selves deceyued, and they
 great sommes of money vayne-ly employed, wherat
 they murmured and partly meued with dysdayn, part-
 ly with pouertie, they brast forth at the last into mani-
 fest grudgyng, whiche came to the emperours eare,
 by what meanes I knowe not, but suche abuses can
 not be longe hydde frome princis, that haue their ea-
 res perforate (as is the prouerbe.) whych the empe-
 rour heyring, he was meued with meruaylous disple-
 sure, consydering that Turinus, whom he had in soo
 great estimation, abusynge his persone, in faynyng
 hym to be his pupple or seruant, had sold his determi-
 nations & sentences, wherby he had defamed his ma-
 iestie in that that Turinus had brought me in belefe,
 that the emperour dyd nothing (but as it were) at his
 onely becke and comandement. which opinion to re-
 velle he vnto this polycie. He caused one to desyre a
 thyng of hym openly, and afterwarde to sue to Tur-
 nus priuily to helpe hym in his demand, and secrete-
 ly to meue the emperour for hym, which beinge done,
 and that Turinus had promysed his good wyl to him
 that sued, and sone after saying, that he had somewhat
 meued the emperour therein, where in dede he spake not
 therof any one worde, and that he abode an answer
 therof, wherupon he receiued of the sayd suter a great
 summe of money. whiche the emperour knowynge, he
 caused hym to calle estesones on Turinus, but he as
 yf he hadde in hande other busynesse, onely bekened
 on hym without speakynge any thyng to hym. for in
 dede the Emperour hadde gyuen to an other that
 thyng,

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thyng, whiche this man sued for, whiche grudgynge therat, discovered openly what Turinus had of hym receyued: that knowynge the emperour, he caused Turinus immediately to be arrested, and openly in his presence to be accused, whiche was done by a greatte numbze, whom he had also deceyued, takynge of them great summes of money for offyces, and other thynges, whych they neuer obteyned. Wherefore after that Turinus was condemned by sufficient and credyble wytnesse, in whose presence he had receyued this bybery, and in whose hearing he had effectually promised, he was iudged by the emperour, to be ladde into the open market place, where moste resoꝛt was of the people, and there beinge bounden to a stake, with smoke made of grene styckes and wete stubbell, to be smouldred to deathe. and durynge the tyme of his execution, the emperour commaunded a bedell to crye, with fume shal he dy, that fumes hath sold. But to the intēt that men shuld not think that for one offence the iugement was to cruel and rigorous, oꝛ euer Turinus was condemned to die, the emperour made diligent serche, & by euident pꝛofes it was founden, that Turinus had often & in many causes, receyued money of both parties, promysynge to aduaunce theyꝛ cause to the emperour. Whereouer to pꝛoue the seueritie of this emperors laudable, it shalbe declared in the chapter next folowynge.

The consultation concernynge the punishment of Turinus, and the excellent reason of the emperour Alexander. Cap. xv.

IN THE MEANE tyme that Turinus was accused, and before his condemnation, the Emperour Alexander accoꝛdyng to his customable vsage, gaue conueni-

conuenient time to his counsaylours to delibérate by them selues, or euer that they gaue any sentence, what punishment shulde be equall to the offence of Turinus, and necessary for an example to other, that they presumed not to do the semblable. After whan the counsaile was called, euerye man was commaunded to declare his opinion: Some raysoned, that the open rebuke with sufficient satisfaction vnto the partie, shulde be a conueniente punishment: Other ad- dyd to impysonnement for a certayne tyme: Dyuerse wolde that he shuld be banished farre from the court: many assymed with behement argumentes, that he deserued to be beheaded, consydering that in abusing the emperours maiestie, in sellynge greatte offyces to persons vnworthy, he had put the publyke weale in no lyttell hasarde. The emperour aduisedly herynge all theyr opinions, laste of all, as it was his maner, reasoned in this wyse, as hereafter foloweth.

T My trustye and well beloued counsaylours, we haue hitherto attentysfely herde and throughe- ly consydered your wyse and honozable sentences, declared with free and vncorrupted myndes, althoughe by the diuersitie of your naturall inclynations, your sundry reasons seme to haue noo lyttell dyuersitie, as it hap- neth in al consultations, wherein diuerse men do shew theyr conceytes freely without feare of blame, as I doubt not but ye do. Not withstanding for as moch as herynge all your opinions and reasons, I haue my wytte the better instructed to fynde oute and declare (except I be deceyued) what shulde be the mooste expe- dient and necessary punishment of Turinus, for the offences whiche he hath commytted, wherein ought to

G.ii.

be

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be noo lasse seueritie (as I wyll proue with good reason) than if he had attempted to haue slayne me, or to brenne this moste noble citie of Rome, the honorable mantion of goddes, & common refuge of al the world. Fyrst ye remembze, that ye chafe me to be your gouernour, not onely for the nobilitie of my progenitours, ne for theyr images or monumentes of thankfull remembraunce, ye, rather for the beastely and most abominable lyfe of Helyogabalus, my cousen gerinayn, ye had moze cause to refuse me: neyther ye made me your Emperour and prince for the goodlynesse of my person, or prowesse shewed by me in your warres: I beinge yet for tenderneesse of age vneth able to do feates of armes, moche lasse to leade an army, speciallye such one as pertyneth to this noble empire. But true lyfe it was for the good estimation & hope that ye had in the towardenesse of myne education and nature, thynkynge it to be aptely disposed to vertue, wherein beinge broughte vp in chylhode, I oughte to haue alway about me, suche as be of lyke disposition, and by theyr assistance and counsaile, to moderate and rule the publyke weale of this citie. It oughte therfore to be kepte in remembraunce, that as I haue sayde, by the good opinion and hope that all men haue conceyued of me, this publyke weale, whiche beinge subuerted, I founde as none, I haue reedified (and be it spoken without boiste) almoste made newe from the foundation. Than if he that inforseth hym selfe to brenne the houses, or to beate downe the walles of the Citie, by good iustyce and reason shuld suffer deathe: by a moche greater reason oughte Titinus to dye, that hath endeuoured hym selfe to subuertere and destroye that, wherby

wherby the publyke weale as wel was begonne, as is also preserved, consydering that the publyke weale in estimation is to be preferred before the materiall citie, as moche as the lyfe of man and renoume of vertue be of more value than stone or timber, wherwith the walles and houses be buylded. And therefore Aristotle, in desyryng what is a Citie, doth not call it a place builded with houses, & enuironned with walles, but saith, that it is a company, which hath sufficiencie of living, and is constitute or assembled to the intent to lyue wel, wherfore it is the people and the weale of theym that maketh the citie. And the destruction and subuersion therof, oughte with more rigour and behemente punishment, to be reuenged, if more sharpe punishment maye be than deathe, than brennyng and beatyng downe of materiall houses or walles.

This well and deepely consydered, it shall not be thought, that they that haue reasoned for the mitigation of Turinus punishment, had before in remembrance and sufficiently examyned the greuousnesse of his offence, accordyng as I haue declared it, but only considered his bare act without any circumstance. But yet the treason doone also to me, aggrieueth the trespase. Is it not treason, to conspire the destruction of the soueraygne lord: most of al, of whom thou art entierly fauoured, and put in great trust. Is there any diuersitie betwene the stichyng of hym with a dagger, or kylling hym with payson, and by some circumstance to cause his people to rebelle agaynst him, & in theyr furie to slay hym: who comparyng to gether the fourme and maner of these offences, wyl not suppose it reason, that the punishments therfore, shulde be

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moche moze vehement and sharpe than for any other transgression, sense iustice limiteth equall punishment in proportion, accordyng to the importance, that is to saye, The greatnes or smalnesse of the offences.

Nowe let vs consyder the qualitie or substance of **T**utius myldemeanour. In the tyme of the emperour **S**euerus and **C**aracalla, he was in smalle estimation, but after that I was elect emperour, he craftily smellynge out my disposition, by lyttell and lyttell acquainted hym selfe with some of those, of whome for their vertues I had best opinion, and counterfaytyng their maners, he at the last so aptly set forth such grauitie, whiche he adourned also with a wonderfull sharpnes and promptitude of wytte, that he opteyned to be hyghly recomended vnto me by the wisest men of my counsaile, by whose aduise fyrst I made hym one of my treasozers. fynally I called hym nere me, and made hym of my pryue counsaile, wherein we founde hym so necessary, that in our opinyon his sentences were equiualent, and sometyme surmounted them that had ben in mooste estimation. And to the intent that he wold augment that opinion and credence that we had in hym, he euer vbled a great seueritie or strytenes in his sentences agayne flatterers, dissemblers, and persones corrupted, namely suche as solde their endeuour or diligence in optaynyng our fauour in any matter or for any offyce. And by his industrie dyuerse were detected vnto me, and punished accordyng to their merites. For these causes I moze & moze toke hym in fauour, and to incourage other to ensue his example, I dydde aduaunce hym as ye knowe, to the hyghest dignities within the citie, except the con-
sule

ful, & haue participate with hym our most priuy secre-
tes, vsing him so familiarly, that dyuers other of our
counsaillours haue partly disdayned. Nowe beholde
what he hath done. For he hath deceyued and moc-
ked vs with his hypocrisy, abusynge our symplitie
and wympynge our fauour, and not our fauour only,
but also our credence & trust, wherby he mought final-
ly worke to his priuate comoditie, and to our confusi-
on. For he being with vs in such familiaritie as none
other was, he practised those thinges that we most ab-
horred, that is to say extortion, sellynge of ryghte and
wrong, and marchandysynge of offyces and dignities.
To whome is extortion or bypbes not greuous & al-
though the gyuer receyuethe great lucre. Is there any
thyng to be more abhorred than sellynge of Iustyce,
whiche knoweth no reward. Howe moche more intol-
lerable is the sellynge of iustice or wronge, wherby
the one part suffreth damage by sustayning of wronge,
the other is more indamaged by lesynge of his good
name and also his money, if it happen, as it hath done
oftentymes, by a good & rightuous gouernour, that
he whiche hath done wronge, be compelled to make re-
stitution: But principally and aboue all other am I
moste indamaged. For I vnwares & innocent being
brought into the hatred of men, shulde be destroyed
before that I mought knowe that I were in perille.
Nowe consyder the importance of Turinus offence,
conferryng it with al that whiche I haue reherfed, &
by the way remember, that not only he that sleeth his
pryncce, or depopulateth his countrey, and maketh it
desolate, but also he that conspireth to do it, and ther-
to endeuoreth hym selfe with al his puissance, though
he

he be let by some occasion of study, deserveth to dye by
 the determination of Justyce by the butife. By what
 meane he wolde do it, it is not material: except perad-
 venture some man mought suppose, that the acte were
 more odious of him that procurid the people to distroy
 their owne prince or countrey, whome they are bounde
 by allegiance & duetie with al their power to defende,
 than of hym that do sollicite strangers or ancient en-
 nemies, to invade his countrey. Finally if any comon
 person, neuer recepyng of me any benefite wolde re-
 porte in the eares of people, that I wente aboute to
 chaunge the estate of the weale publyke of this noble
 cite, to flee all the senatours, to withdraue the people
 from their ancient liberties, and finally to byng the
 maiestie of the empyre into a tyrannye, and by suche
 false information excyteth and styeth the Senate and
 people to hate me, and couete my destruction: suche
 one proved at the last to have sayd falsely. I beleue he
 wolde not thinke onely worthe to dye, but he wolde
 with yowre owne handes dysmembere hym, and plucke
 hym in pieces. Why shulde you not than thinke, that
 Turinus, whome I moste favoured, and was about
 the moste secrette, not by reportyng euill of me, (why-
 che perchaunce wolde not be beleued) but by actual
 dedes and openye, corruptyng iustyce, and ty-
 rannye, in mayntaynyng, supportyng, and com-
 fortynge wronges, extorcion, oppressions, and o-
 ther enuunties agaynst the weale publyke, also ad-
 uancynge euill and vngatious personages to dyg-
 nities and offyces, whereby iustyce ought to be im-
 pedyd, and the publyke weale gouerned, and by these
 meanes quenchynge the good opynion and loue that
 all

all men had towarde me, and chaungynge it to a feruent grutchē & hatred, they thynkynge that Turinus dyd al thyng by our apoyntmēt, styre the hartes of the people agaynst me: why shuld ye not I say, think, that such one hath deserued to dye? And as he was with vs in syngular fauour and trust, and therein lyke to none other: so ought his dethe to be syngular and strange, that by the noueltie thereof it maye be moze terryble, wherby other may feare from hensforthe to abuse in suche maner our affabilitie, which beinge in vs natural, without such a munition can not be sure and safely p̄serued. And so; this our sentence no man ought to deme vs cruell, or to lacke mercy, yf he consyder diligently all that we haue spoken. And do also remember, that to kepe an infinite numbꝛe of men from the rygour of Iustyce, I spare not to execute the same rigour on hym, whom I specially fauoured.

¶ After that the emperour had cōcluded in this wise his reson, there was no man offred to reply therto, perceyvinge hym rather moued with zeale than with any particular displeasure, and to say the truthe, whan they had pondered his consyderations, not fyndyng sufficient argument to confound his opinion, fynally they all being in numbꝛe syfty wise and honourable counsailours, reioyced that they had soo wyse and vertuose an emperour, whyche p̄ferred Iustyce and the weale of his people, before any pryuate affection or syngular appetite. Than immediatly folowed the execution of Turinus, whyche was appoynted by the Emperour, in fourtine as ye herde it declared in the laste Chappter.

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These Alexander instructed and enterprised them that were
officers, and of his sympathye toward them that
dydde well theyr duties. Cap. xvi.



NOT VVITHSTANDING the se-
ueritie of this noble emperour in the
sharpe punishment of oppressions, ex-
torcions, and other offences of sem-
blable importance, yet was he toward
suche as iustely executed their offyces,
for the publyke weale, very fauourable, gentyll, and
bounteous. For if any of theym hadde peradventure
at the begynninge of fyrst entre into his roune or au-
thoritie, bled lasse diligence, or omitted some thyng
that he ought to haue doone, eyther for lacke of expe-
rience, or hauing not therein sufficient instruction, for-
sene alway that he dyd nothyng by corruption or hy-
cious affection: the Emperour callynge suche one to
hym pryncypally and aparte from all other, fyrste he wolde
remembre hym for what cause he hadde called hym to
that roune or authoritie, the importaunce or charge
wherof he wolde also declare, and than wolde he som-
what commend hym for his honesty and temperance,
wherwith he wolde confesse hym selfe to be satisfied,
accoording to his expectation, than sadlye and with a
wonderfull grauitie, he wolde admonest or warn hym
of his lacke in diligence or in omission, shewing what
damage the publyke weale nought sustayn, by lacke
of his circumspection, and without that, their vertues
shulde be vnprofitable to their offyce or dignitie. Af-
ter wolde he exhorte and requyre theym with gentyll
countenance and wordes, to vse moze studie and tra-
uayle aboute the affaires of the weale publyke, com-
mited

mitted vnto them, promysing to them for their good endeuour, his assistance & fauour with honest recompence in the ende of their trauayles. Moreover although he were thus industrious in espyenge out the demeanour of every man in his office, yet wold he not suffre any other person to rebuke or to scorne theym, sayeng, that where any obedience is due, thense ought to be excluded al rebukynge or mockynge, consyderynge that therof ensueth cōtempt, which like a pestilēce consumeth all lawes and authoritie: And that he and the senate were iuges of the duties of them that be in authoritie. Also he vsed to say oftentymes, that it happeneth sometyme, that they, whiche be slacke in their duties at the begynnyng, after that they haue ben monished therof, eyther by their frendes, or by the goodnes of theyr propre wittes, they haue ben industrious and dilygent. Contrary wise other, which at the fyrst haue ben quyk, with a meruaylous dexteritie and promptnes, they haue by lytell and lytel relented, and hauing gathered good estimation & abundance of substance, haue withdrawen them selues from peynful affaires, and at the last be to no man but onely to theym selves profitable.

¶ Whan any man had exercised his offyce duely, bytyghely, and circumspectly in the publike weale, at the ende of his terme, whan there was a successour vnto hym being present appoynted, than wold he say vnto hym that departed oute of his offyce. The publyke weale giueth to you right hartly thākes. Thā wold he reward hym in such wise as being priuate he mought accordyng to his degree, liue the more honestly. His reward was in lande, cattel, horses, grayne, yron, stone,

and other thynges necessary to buyde a commodious place, wherein after greate travail aboute the weale publyke, he moughte refreche bothe his body and spirites. And euer after the emperour had hym in mooste tender famliaritie.

The emperours diligence in knowynge mens qualities.

Uerily in one thyng he vsed an incomparable diligence, wherein he surmounted in myne oppynion all other emperours. There was no man in dignitie or offyce, epyther by the assygnement of the senate, or by his commysyon, but that he knewe his persone, and fourme of lpyng. And that moche moze is, he had in his chamber bylles contaynyng the numbze of theym, whiche were his souldiours in wages, and also euerie one of their names, and what tyme they had serued. And whan he was by hym selfe quiete frome great affaires, he perused the numbze of them, their dignities wages and fees, to the intent that he wolde be for all occasions surely prouyded. And therfore whan he had any thyng to do with his souldiours, he named eue-ry man in his communycation: and whan they were present, he called theym vnto hym. And whan he was sollicitated to promote any person, he mathed his name, and than wolde he serche his booke of remembrance, wherein were the names of them that had serued hym, with the tyme of their seruyce. also their rewarde or promotion, and at whose request, or by whose sollicitation they were promoted.

In offyces he selborne suffred to be any deputies, sayinge, They onely shulde be aduanced, whiche by them selues and not by deputies could order the publyke weale. addynge thereto, that men of warre hadde their ministrations, and learned men theis, and accor-
dunge

dyngge therunto shulde roumes be disposed, that euery man shulde do that thyng wherof he had most knowlege. He had therfore wytten what he had gauen, and that remembryng, if he founde any man, to whom he had epyther gauen nothyng, or that whiche in value was not equall unto his merites: he called hym, and sayde, what is the cause that thou askeste nothyng of me: desyeste thou to haue me thy dettout? Alke some what, that lackynge promotion, thou complayne not of me. He gaue alwaye suche thinge as impayed not his honour, as goodes of men attaynted, not beinge in golde or syluer, for that was alwaye put in the common treasoure. Also he gaue baylywikes and rules of places ciuile, but neuer of warre, excepte it were to them whiche were experte and approued true capitaines. Receyuous he chaunged euery yere, and called them an euil that nedes must be suffered. As for chiefe iudges, proconsules, or lieutenantes, he gaue none of those roumes in rewarde, but by a delyberate iugement epyther of him selfe or of the Senate. Such was the wonderfull and (as I mought say) moste curious circumspection of this excellent pryncce Alexander, whiche in myne opinion can not be by mannes tynge sufficiently extolled.

Some curiouse the Emperour Alexander was in assignynge of iustices in his lawes, and howe he used liberally to bestow his rewardes them accordynge to theyr merites. Cap. xlii.



SOME PERSONS as he assigned to be iudges in ciuile lawe, he with good consideration and proofe chose them which were beste lerned in the lawes, and

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were of moche auncientie, and therwith hauyng good grauitie, and were known to be sincere and of good conscience, and vnto them was appoynted an honorable stipende: In so moche as to them that were iurges in prouynces, was gyuen to euery of theym. xx. Romayne poundes of syluer, syre syluer pottes, two mules, two mulettes, two hoxses, a hoxsekeper and a mulettour, two robes o; habites, to syt in iudgement, one honorable garment to weate in his house: one for his bayne o; studye: Also a hundred pecies of golde: Moreover one cooke, and if they were married, one concubine. And after that they had lefte they; administration, they shulde yelde agayne the mules, mulettes, hoxses, mulettours, and cookes, whiche all the sayde tyme were founde of the common treasure, the resydue they shulde reteyne styll, if they had done wel in they; offyce: And if they had done euill, they shuld paye the quattreple o; foure tymes soo moche as they receyued.

The neuer wolde suffer that any offyce, whiche had iurisdiction, o; execution of Justyce, shulde be solde o; opteyned by giuing of money, o; any other reward. And therfore where one of his mooste pryue seruantes had promysed to one, to obteyne of the Emperour for hym an offyce, which had ciuile iurisdiction o; administration of Justice, and therfore had taken a hundred pecies of golde: The emperour comanded, that he shuld be hanged on a galouse openly in the hygh way, wherin the emperours seruantes shulde mooste often passe to his manours, withoute the cite. And when Alpiane, one of the sage men of his counsaile blamed

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his sentence as cruell and representynge a tyranny, he
patiently harde hym, and answered immediatlye,
sayinge, The residue of my maners declareth me not
to be furiose, or to take pleasure in crueltie, specially
to them whom I fauour and haue nexte aboute me.
See you not, what wormes and flyes wolde increase
to consume the grayne and fruites of the erthe, if the
pleasurtnesse of the sprynge tyme and begynnyng of
somer shulde euer continue, and the sharpe and terri-
ble wynter dyd not with his sharpe frostes and bytter
wyndes purge the erthe of suche euill increase. Who
knoweth not, that in al thing that is swete, wormes be
founden, which will sone consume al that they bryde in,
if it be not preserued by laying about it some thing bit-
ter or very vnswete. If the ancient lawes of this cite
iudgeth hym to dye, that spitefully pulleth down or de-
spyleth the emperors image, or couñterfayteth his copie,
seale or sygne maner, of how moch congruence & moze
with iustice is it, that he shuld sufferdeth, which with
selling of the administration of iustice, pluckith down
and despyleth amonge the people the good renoume of
the Emperour: or couñterfayteth & changeth the mynd
of the Emperour, which is his very image immortall,
wherby bothe the pryncce and the people suffereth in-
comparably moze damage than by forgyng of money.
Do not ye being so wyse a man, consyder, that he whi-
che byeth a thyng, maye sel it. And for my part while
I lyue. I wyl neuer suffer any auctoritie to be vsed as
marchaundise. for that whiche I suffer, I maye not
with myne honour condemne or prohibite. And I can
not for shame punishe a man for sellynge that thyng
that

that he byeth. wherfore if ye consyder euerpe thyng well, ye shall fynde no cause to blame me of crueltie, or resemble me to a tyrante.

With these wordes Alpiane founde hym selfe satisfied, and wonderynge at the Emperours wysedom, ceased to speake any more agaynste hym in any semblable iudgement.

When he made any ordinary iudges, advocates, or proctoures, he caused them to be openly named; requirynge the people and grynge their courage, if there were cause to accuse them, to proue the tyme by open wytnesse. And he was wonte to saye, Sense christen men and iewes in the election of priestes, caused them to be in suche fourme tryed: it shulde be inconuenient, if the same were not vsed in the gouernours of countreys, vnto whom were commytted both the lyues and substance of men that be vnder them. Forseue if they dyd not sufficiently proue it, and that it semed to be malicious detraction, the accusour shulde forthwith be beheaded.

Of the great care and diligence that Alexander vsed aboute the publyke weale, and of certayne newe officers ordeyned by hym. Cap. viii.



HIS HOUSEHOLDE seruauntes and counsailors of the emperour being well tried, and by his owne example broughte in good order, also the heed officers, iudges, and all other that had authoritie in the publyke weale, beinge well chosen and instructed by the example of the emperours court: it was a wonder to beholde, with howe lyttell difficultie, and howe sone

soone the resydue of the weale publyke was broughte
 into a good facion, all men delytynge in vertue, and
 praysyng the beaultie and commoditie therof in their
 superiours. Also reioysinge at the affabilitie and gen-
 tlynesse of the noble emperour, and semblably drea-
 dyng his seueritie, they brought at the last vertue in
 custome, wherby happed that such vices as before se-
 med lyttell, and were nothyng regarded, became to
 all men, or at the leest to the moze parte detestable. In
 so moche as the emperour neded not to send forth any
 espiall to espye mens conditions. For suche as were
 euill, were every where noted, and of all men dysap-
 ned. So that by them it happed, as it doth by one that
 is sycke in a hotte feuer, whiche spylt abhorreth euery
 medicine that the physition doth offer to geue him: but
 whan he beholdeth the physition drynke any thyng
 therof, thā is he the better content to assay of the same:
 but by reason that his tast is corrupted, to him al thing
 that is holsome semeth vnplesant, be it neuer so be-
 lectable, finally fearing eyther to dye, or to be compel-
 led to receyue a moze greuouse medicine, he taketh the
 potion by lyttell & lyttell, buttill at the last by custome of
 drynkyng therof, he hath brought that potion to be as
 familiar and agreable vnto his tast, as was his com-
 mon and mozte vsual drinke. And than both he scorne
 bothe them that wylfully wolde dye rather than they
 wolde take medicine: and also them that be their ke-
 pers or rulers, whiche do suffer them to take only that
 which contenteth their appetite. Semblably byd they
 who by the emperours example, accustomed theym-
 selves to vertue and honesty, eschewyng suche vices,
 whiche hitherto they had shunned.

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These the emperor Alexander dyd ordeyn new officers in the weale
publike, and what belonged to their authorities. Ca. xlv.



NOWVE LET vs retourne vnto the empe-
rour Alexander. whan he percepued that
by the example of him, and other great of-
ficers, the people began to apply & waxed
apt to receyue due reformation of the state
of theyr luyunge, he meruaylously therat reioysing,
gaue hym selfe holly to the restoyunge of the publyke
weale to hir paxinate honour. wherfore to the intent
that nothyng shulde escape vntereformed, he ordeyned
to be in the cite and also in the prouynces many offy-
cers, som what mo than befoze were accustomed to be,
appoyntyng causes ciuile and criminall to sundry iu-
risdictions, sayenge, where one man hath many mat-
ters to order of sundry effectes, it fareth with hym as
it dothe with a mans stomache, for the stomake recep-
ueth meates, dyuers in qualities and effectes, whiche
all togither can not be by one mans nature duly con-
cocte and dygested. For somme meates be in opera-
tion hotte, and be not apte but for a colde stomake:
some contrarywise be very cold, and in a cold stomake
wyl neuer be boyled. other meates be of grosse & harde
substance, and requyre a strong and myghty stomake
to endue it: other be softe and delycate, and beinge to
hastily digested, it nothyng profyteth. Not withstan-
dyng any one of the sayde meates beinge in one sto-
make, are better prepared to digestion than many, co-
syderynge the trauayle that nature must haue in the
seperation of sundry qualities, that be in diuers mea-
tes to prepare them to their effectes, wherto they were
ordeyn-

ordained. And if the naturall heate in mans bodie be not thereto sufficient, that whiche is ordained for nourishment of lyfe, is converted to corruption of blode and other humours, whiche is cause of sicknesses. But yf any meate happen to come into the stomack, whiche meate is apt for his temperature, there shal he be perfectly concocted or boyled, and by a naturall digestion made apte for the nourishment and preservation of other members. Accordynge to this similitude. If one man being in authorite, which I resemble vnto the stomack, be he neuer so wel lerned or wise, if he take vpon hym the ordynng and dyscussynge of all maner causes, his wytte, whiche is in the steede of nature, shalbe therewith so moch incumbred, that being studious or occupied aboute one matter, in the meane tyme an other is apparyed: and yf he leaue the fyrste, to resourne the seconde or thyrde, the fyrste is than in worse case than he founde it, the parties contendynge being chaufed, and in a more feruent contention. Or in a criminall cause the offenders beinge leste vncorrected, puttyng al feare apart, not only do perseuer but also increse in their euill doinges. Finally where one man hath the depeachynge of many matters, none one of them may be broughte to a perfecte conclusion. For as moche as to every act belongeth oportunitie, whiche can neuer be founde, where many matters be enterlaced, oportunitie being onely espyed by a vigilant and constant studie. Where ouer where many men be in authoritie, good wyttes shal not be hydded nor burred, and many shal apply theym to vertue and studie, vpon hope of preferment. And where as be many particular authorities, there shal sundry matters be the soner

depeached. This was the sayeng of Alexander.

And therfore by the consent of the senate and people, he ordayned fyrst according to the counsel of Plato, certayne persons, whiche were named Conservators of the weale publyke: to whose offyce it appertayned to se, that the chyldren of the Romaynes were well brought up and instructed accordyng to the capacite of their wyttes, frome the age of seven yeres vnto syxtene, and that in theyr playes and recreation were nothyng dishonest. Also that at certayne tymes appoynted, they were exercysed in ryding, if they were sonnes of gentylmen. Also they and the resydue, were exercysed in swymmyng, runnyng, wrestlyng, and to occuppe all weapons of warre. Semblabyle that the maydens, durynge the sayde age, were brought up in chastytie, humblenesse, and occupation necessary for a housewyfe. And that they were not seene out of their fathers houses, but only in the temples, vnto the which women only resorted, and that in the company of their mothers or such other as were in their places.

Moreouer it pertayned to the sayd Conservators, to controll euery householder, of what estate or degre so euer he were, yf there were founde any excesse in his fare, or that he had resort of riotous persons: or that he kept any mo seruauntes than had roumes in theyr howses, or in some necessary busynesse were continually occupied.

Also that no man neyther in hym self, his wyfe, nor his seruantes shulde excede or in any part change the apparayle that by the lawes or the emperours ordynances had ben prouyded.

Moreouer to se that no bitaling house nor bordel house

house shoulde haue their doores open, or receyue any person, eyther before the sonne risen, or after the sonne sette, whyche was done to the intente that euery man shulde be knowen, that repaired to suche places, and moche good hapned by that prouision.

These Conseruatours were thre score in numbre, that is to saye, for euery trybe two, Rome beinge diuided into, xxx. tribes. and twise in the wyke they assembled and dydde communicate suche defaultes as they had founden, and forth with all they certified to the prouoste of the cite all the defaultes, reseruyng the education of chyldren, which they them selfe resourmed by sharpe admonition giuen to theyr parentes: whom if they founde disobediente or neglygent, they certified therof the Senate, who caused the sayde parentes to be punished as enemies of the publyke weale of the cite. Them whiche offended in the other articles, the prouoste of the cite punished, accordyng to the statutes and ordynaunces in such cases provided.

The Pretors, Questors, and other lyke offycers and authorities he augmented in number, all be it he deuyded theyr iurisdiccions, to some he appoynted onely contractes, in the whiche wordes were comprehended all thynges wherein bargayne or promyse was conteyned: and that he caused to be extremely examyned and discusled by the sayde officers, and in whome was founden to be any dysceipte or faythe broken, he withoute hope of any remysyon or pardon, was immediately beaten with whippes: which was also the punishment of them that had stolen pryue without any violence. The emperor saying, That it was but a fantasie and a thyng to laughe at, to make a difference.

ference betwene stealynge and disceit oꝝ breakynge his bargayne, where it appereth to be no dyuersitie, but onely that this hath truste and credence ioynd with it: and the other hath none, but is a synge iniurie. wherfoze in reason it is the lyghter offence, where, by the other meanes, not onely the thyng is gotten with as moche iniustice as if it were stolen: but also saythe other wyse called truste, whiche is the foundation of Justice, and consequently of the publike weale, is dissolved. And therfoze it ought to be reuenged with no lesse punishment than synple theft.

Cpuruayours foꝝ graine to the citie he made of honeste and diligent persones, and to theym he assigned particuler auditours, notwithstandinge at the ende of the yere, bothe the puruayours and auditours lefte theyꝝ offices, and other were chosen.

Co them that were his baylyffes receyours surveyours and other that procured oꝝ gathered the reuenues of his crowne, he gaue competente salaries: but he fauoured them not, callinge them a necessarie euill. wherfoze if he perceyued, that any of them had gathered moche rychesse, he wolde take al from them, sayinge, Let it suffice you, that ye haue taken so long pleasure with my goodes: and beware that ye take not from other men iniustely, lest ye make me more angry with you. All be it if he perceyued any of them afterwarde to lyue vpryghtly, and to haue good lymt and lernynge he aduanced them to some other roumes, wherwith they confessed theyꝝ serupce to be recompenced. Synally he neuer punished any man greuously foꝝ his owne particuler causes, and the sharpnesse that he vsed in punishinge offences agaynst the weale

weale publyke. whan his considerations were wel examined and pondered, it was thoughte by all wise men to be ryghte expedient.

To the prouoste he toynded. xiiii. whiche had benne Consules, calling them gouernours of the citie, commaundynge them to here with the prouoste, the assautes of the citie. And that no sentence were gauen, nor act made. but that they al, or the more part were there at presente.

The defestation that Alexander had into idelnesse and the vyces therof. procedynge, and of dyuerse prouisions that he made agaynst it. Cap. xx.

THIS most noble Emperour was so rooted in vertue and feruent zeale toward the weale publyke, that all vyce was to hym almoooste intollerable. And for as moche as he perceyued, that idelnesse, that is to saye, Ceasynge from necessarye occupation or study, was the synke, whiche receyued all the synnyng canelles of vyce, which ones being bynne ful, sodenly runneth ouer throughe the citie, and with his pestiferous ayre infecteth a great multitude of people, et it may be stopped & clenched. And that not withstandinge, the people being ones corrupted with this pestilence, shall with greatte difficultie and with longe tracte of tyme be deliuered. And yet ere that shall be brought well to passe, a great parte of the people shall perishe: whiche this wise and vertuouse Emperour consyderynge, and hauninge therof maruaylouse care, to the intent to withdraue men from all excuses of idelnesse, he with an incomparable prudence ordeyned

for

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for euery Astate some forme of exercyse to be necessary
 by or vertuousely occupied, begynnynge at the base
 people or comuners, whiche were moſte in number,
 and proceeding forth to euery other degre or condition.
Thyrſte all vyle occupation or labour, wherby na-
 ture moughte be corrupted, or bodely ſtrength decay-
 ed, he cauſed onely to be exerciſed by bondemenne or
 ſtraungers, that is to ſay, not beinge citizens. Sem-
 blably, he wold not ſuffer any citizen to be a marchāt
 aduenterer, nor to ſell any thyng by retayle, that he
 hym ſelfe wrought not, or were not made by his owne
 prouiſion or ſtudye: ſayinge, That the Romaynes by
 trauaylyng into ſundry coutrys, gathered & brought
 into the cite with theyr marchaundise, the vices of o-
 ther people, which apprehended by other (as the more
 part of men do deſypte in newe fangelnes) is the cauſe
 of more damage to the publyke weale, than a hundred
 tymes the value of the marchaundise may be commo-
 diouſe. Moreover ſyndynge ones a delite to accumu-
 late treaſure, and deſyrynge to excede one an other in
 rycheſſe, they attende ſo moche to theyr owne particu-
 lar lucre, that they abandon all liberalitie, beneuolence
 and charitie, excepte it be very ſewe. ſynallye they be
 neuer to the publyke weale proſytable. Alſo they that
 retayle that whiche is bought of the craſtes man that
 warketh it, they not onely defraude other of the iuſte
 pryce, contrary to the directe order of equitie, but alſo
 do conſume the tyme idelly, beinge not occupied nei-
 ther in bodely exerciſe, nor in vertuous or commody-
 ouſe ſtudye. Therfore to ſuche practyſe or myſtery, he
 admytted onely ſtraungers. And alſo to byynge out
 of other countreys and to ſelle to the citizens all ſuche
 thynges

thynges as therof was none growynge in Italye, or not in sufficient quantitie, as wolles, mettall, & sylke. Forseene that none of it were broughte in any place out of Italy. And of suche strangers it was lesfull to the Romaynes, to bye in grosse, and retayle. All be it there shuld no more retayle than were appoynted by the Senate: and those also shulde be examyned and assigned by the Pryuost of the cite, and suche as were to hym associate. And the sayde marchaunte straungers were by the Emperours commaundement very courteisely entertayned, and so were all other straungers, whiche repayed to the cite to bye there any thyng, or elles to practyse any excellent kunnyng or crafte, and were exonerate of all charges for the warres, excepte it were onely for the defence of the cite. But of theym he suffred to be but a certayne number, whiche was not lawfull for them to excede. And vnto them were assigned of the Romaynes certayn iudges and officers, which yerely also were chaunged. But nowe to treate howe he kepte the people from idelnesse,

¶ Firste he prouyded, that where there was not any artifice or craft necessary, but that it mought be found within the cite, which he ordred in this wyse. He knewe euery yere ones by the officers called Censores, howe moche people were dwellinge in the cite of euery age. Also by them whiche were called Ediles, howe many householdes there were of euery crafte. Than wolde he diligently enserche, of what perfection they warres were, wherein they were occupied, and if he found therein moche lacke, so that the byars shulde suffer decayment, than inioyned he the seller therof, that he shuld no more wyke to sale, buttill he were instructed

more

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more perfectly. Notwithstanding that person was compelled to worke vnder an other man, whiche was more perfecte, buttill his worke were commended.

C Moreover he ordeyned, that after that the children of the comuners could wyte and rede perfectly, they were set to some attifice or crafte. But if within one yere it appered, that they were vnapte thereto, or that it were moche contrapouse vnto theyr nature: than the Conseruatours examyning as moch as they coulde, to what crafte or science necessary theyr wittes were moste apte, vnto that shulde they forthwith be sette, to lerne of theym whiche were good workemen. And therfore he gatte oute of all partes of the empire the moste kunnyng and perfecte craftsmen in euery science to dwel in the cite, not onely compellyng them by his auctoritie, but allurynge them with perely stipendes of grayne, to the syndynge of theyr householdes, and also to be free frome all maner exactions in peace or warre, to instructe in theyr craftes perfectly the yowthe of the cite.

The craftes, whiche he wolde that the more parte of Romaynes shuld occupie, were those, wherein both the body and wytte moughte be exercysed, whiche he sayde perteyned to men that were free of condition: other occupations, wherein was bodely labour onely, he sayde was for bondemen and bestes. And therfore within the territoire of the cite of Rome, and in the manours and sermes of the gentylmen Romaynes, he ordeyned that bailifes and surueyours of husbandry shuld be fre men and citizens, and that the ploughmen and laborers shulde be bondmen and strangers. In other cities besydes Rome, some of these thynges were

were chaunged after the necessitie and nature of the people, wherein this emperor alway had a maruailous consideration.

¶ After this diligent prouision, if any one of the people had ben found idell by the space of one hole day, except in feastfull days & other tymes of solace appointed, he was forthwith examyned, and haupnge no lefull and approued excuse, he was for the whipped, and after by the Conservatores committed to one of the craftes, that he was of. and for every day that he was openly found to be idell, the persone vnto whom he was committed, shuld for a moneth set hym to any labour that he lyst, as his slave or bondman, geuyng to him meate and drynke onely. And it was not to any other man lefull, durynge that tyme, to geue hym meate or drynke, or to speake with hym, other wyse than to rebuke hym. And after the sayd correction, the said Conservatores shulde see that he were bestowed where he moughte worke with a competent luyng.

¶ The semblable order was diligently, and (as I mought saye) exactly kepte by the Emperours straite commandments, bothe in Grece and Italye. And where execution anye tyme failed, or was neglected, the officers were deposed with open reproche, and forfayture of the thyrde parte of theyr substance: which was employed immediately on grayne, and distributed equally and freely amonge the people well occupied, within the citie or towne where suche thyng happened. And with great difficultie the sayde officers in suche wyse deposed, coulde euer after opeyne of the emperor, to come in auctoryte. By the feare wherof, and the sayde distribution vnto the people, this ordinance

was neuer omitted, duringe the lyfe of Alexander.
wherefore it was a wonder to beholde, howe soeuerly
idelnnes was euery where excluded, and busynesse in
euery occupation augmented.

Of bathes and places of exercyses, made for the people of
Rome, by the emperor Alexander. Cap. xxi.



MOREOVER to the intente that the peo-
ple shulde not be to moche fatigate with
continuell labour, whereby their bodies
shulde become decrepitate and vnapt to the
warres, he not onely amended and increa-
sed the hotte bathes made by dyuers emperours and
prynces befoze hym, wherein the people of Rome accu-
stomed to refreshhe and make cleane their bodies, but
also made new bathes moze pleasant and sumptuous,
ioyning them to those that were made by Nero the em-
perour, conuayeng into theym water naturally hotte,
runnyng by conduites of marble from mountaynes
in Naples, by the space of CC. myles from the citie of
Rome. And also he brought into somme partes of the
baynes colde water from the moste pure and delecta-
ble sprynges, the people to vse the oone or the other at
their own plesures. Moreover he bought certain hou-
ses, whiche stode nygh to the sayde bayne, and caused
them to be pulled downe, and that place he made to be
leuelled, and to be sette with yonge trees in the moste
pleasant facion, hauing there large places, wherein the
people after that they were bayned, moughte voluntery
leape, or wastell, or vse any other semblable exercyses
to the whiche places the sayd trees gaue a commodi-
ous and pleasant vmbryage. And in the wastylng places

ces the ground was thicke couered with Camomyle,
Dylgammus, and other lyke grasses, bothe swete in sa-
uour and softe to fall vpon. Also the sayde emperour
moche dellyted in the beholdinge of the sayd exercises.
wherefore it was the most parte of his pastyme or so-
lace, to see the people exercised in fourme asforesayd, or
els the gentylmen to assay them selfe in fourme of ba-
taye, as hereafter shall be declared.

¶ To the sayde baynes and places of exercyse were
assigned a numbre of keepers and ministers, to whome
were gyven sufficient salaries. And those places were
alway kepte so nete and dyllectable, that to the open or
nose, was neuer any thyng vnpleasunt or noysfull:
by the whiche cleynesse the cite was meruaylouslye
preserued from sundrye syckenesses, whiche vndout-
edlye do growe of corrupt exhalacions, venting out of
mens bodyes. And for that cause to auoide occasion
of pestylence and other horryble dyseases, this Empe-
rour prohibyted by speciall lawes, ingurgitations,
banquettes, late suppers & longe. Moreover causing
the controllers of markettes (of whom there were di-
uers) whiche were euery yere chosen of speciall honest
men, and not auaricious or nedy, to haue a vigilant
eye on the market, that not onely bytayles were solde
by a due weyght and measure, and at prices set by the
senate, but also that they were not in any parte corrup-
ted in fauour or substance, and that no suche thynges
were solde for bytayle, wherein any popson naturallye
mought be ingedred and hys, as mushrooms, frogges,
and other lyke thynges, founden more rather by wan-
ton appetites, than by nature ingendred to serue for
mans sustynance, and in these thynges, if any lacke

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were perceyued to be, the emperour and senate with a diligent scrutiny founde out the persone, by whose default it hapned, with also the controller, which seemed to be negligent. And the seller was accordeinge to the lawes sharply punished. The controller as other officer, if there were founden in hym negligence, was with great rebukes expelled from his office, and hadde the tenth part of his mouable goodes confiscate, which beinge brought into money, and bestowed on indiate, was distributed amonge the people, which dwelled in that part of the citie, where the offence was committed.

¶ It is here to be considered, that suche summes as were forsaught by corrupt or negligent officers, came neuer to the vse of the emperour, nor he gaue them to any person, but employeng it on come, he caused it to be distributed amonge the people, whiche in myne opinion was a meruaylous polycie, for thereby he declared, that he vsed severitie not for his owne particular aduantage. And also the people, which suffered detriment by the lack of the officers, receyued the benefite of that which was forsaught, which caused a multitude to be alway in a wayte to fynd some misdoemeanour in the officers, to the intent they mought thereby be the better releued. And the officers at the last became merueilous circumspect. And finally the prince for his wysedome and charitie not only praysed, but also as a vniuersal father of al his people was moste entirely beloved.

¶ Touchinge such persones as were in extreme povertie, and eyther by greuous sickness or feeble age, were decrepitate, or otherwise not able to labour, I will after the next chappiter declare the incomparable prudence of this excellent emperour.

Of the magnificence of the emperour Augustus in sumptuous and necessary works, and in what exercises he caused the noble title and gentylmen of Rome to be occupied. Ca. xxii.



BESIDES the baynes, whiche I late remembred, made in the cite of Rome, Alexander made also in euery royaume being subiecte to the empyre of Rome, common baynes, he also made greatte and stronge barnes in many citie, for the people to kepe in their pꝛuate stuffe and goodes, suche as had not of their owne pꝛuate houses of sufficient strength for that purpose. He made also many fayre houses and mansion places, whiche immediately he gaue to his frendes, whome he perceyued to be moſte truſty and honeſt. In a place called Batanum, he made warkes magnifike or ſumptuous, garniſhed with ymages of them whiche were ioyned to hym by any affinitie. He made meres and pooles to be wonder- ed at, bynggng the ſee vnto them, and cauſyng them to be replenſhed with ſtrange and princypall fiſhes. Alſo he edyfied great and wonderfulle bydges, and repayred all them whiche were made by Traiane, lea- uynng not withſtanding to Traiane the name and ho- nour therof. In the market place of Actua, he ſet vp great ymages of the moſte noble emperours, ſome on foote, & ſome on horſebacke, with their titles ouer their heedes, and betwene euery ymage a greate pyllar of braſſe, contaynyng all their geſtes and actes worthe remembrance. He made alſo a baſilike or place, where ciuile controuerſies were herde and iuged, which con- teyned in bredth one hundred ſete, and in length a thou- ſande,

lande, and stode all vpon pylers of porphery, whiche
 is a stone of purple colour, and the pylers were gar-
 nished with ymages of noble pyncis, Grekes & Ro-
 maynes, wrought in pure whyte marble, with their
 names ouer their heedes, and vnder their feete, they
 actes wrought also in very smal ymages of copper in
 a moste lyuely and quicke demonstration. But in one
 kynde of magnificence he passed all other. For where
 dyuerse cities by earthquaues had ben frushed, & ther-
 with defourmed, he of the reuenues of the same coun-
 treys, gaue great summes of money to the reedifying
 of them. And many he esetones restored to their pri-
 stynate beaultie and strengthe, diuerse he made more
 substancypall and sure. There was no towne of re-
 putation in his tyme decayed, but that he caused the
 occasion therof to be serched for, and to be forthewith
 reformed. The hauens of Italy and Sicile, he caused
 not only to be clesed and repaired, but also to be made
 more stronger, to defende outwarde hostilitie.

Moreouer, for the exercise of them, whiche were a-
 boue the astate of the comon people, he repayred and
 newe made many places and thynges necessary, whi-
 che is expedient to be put in remembraunce.

Fyrst he vysited all the libraries that were in the citie:
 And where he found any bokes deformed eyther with
 auncientie, or by neglygent keepinge, or by any other
 meanes, he caused them to be newe wytten and layde
 in their places, and the houses to be not onely clesed,
 but also made more ornate and necessary: As making
 for every boke an huche locked, to the intent that whā
 any man came to study there, he shulde haue no moo
 bokes to loke on, than one of the keepers of the lybra-

ry (wherof there were a good numbꝛe retained to giue their attendance, hauing therfoꝛe competent salaries) shulde deliuer vnto them. And befoꝛe they departed, the sayd keper shulde peruse the leaues of the boke, that they looked in, to thintent that yf they dyd cutte oꝛ rent any out of the volume, they shulde be apprehended, and by the offycers called Ediles, comytted vnto pꝛyson, and there shulde remayne vntyll they had repaired sufficiently the boke that they had defaced, & also caused an other lyke booke to be wyrtten, and bestowed in the sayde lybrary. And yf any suche persone had escaped by negligence oꝛ fauour of the keper, and the defaute founden by some other, the keper was expelled from his office without hope of remysion, and was also compelled to redoube the harne in lyke wise as he shulde haue done whiche committed the offence, yf he immediatly had ben apprehended. He made also a newe lybrary, garnysheing it as well with most principall warkes in euery science, as also with the ymagines of the authoꝛs, wrought moste excellently bothe in imboled warke and portrayture: whiche lybrarye was deuptyed into sundꝛy galeries, accordyng to diuers sciences, all buylded rounde in the fourme of a cerkle, and beinge seperate with walles one frome another: And in that portion that belonged to Geometry and Astronomy, were about the walles great cartes and tables, contayning sundꝛy lynes, figures, descriptions, dimensions, oꝛ measurynge, conuersions of sterres motiōs and reuolutiōs of planettes, spheres and imaginaty cerkles, with also material spes quadrantes, astrolabes, and all other instrumentes belongyng to those sciences. Semblable tables were

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in that porcion that pertayned to Arithmetike & musyke, contayning the sundry proportions of numbers and tunes, and therto was added harpes, lutes, organes softe in sownynge. For all instrumentes that were lowde & made great noyse, were excluded thence, the cause appereth to wyle readers. The place whiche was compassed aboute with the sayde lybraries, was also rounde, and decked with pleasant imagerye, and haupnge seates commodiously aboute it: where they that came to study in the lybraries, moughte walke or sytte at their pleasure, and communicate eche with other that whiche they had radde or perceyued. And to these places there fayled not to come dayly a greatte numbze of gentylmen.

For other necessary exercise, the emperour inclosed with a hyghe walle, a grunde ioyngne to his owne palaice, contayning in circuite one Italven myle and a halfe, which within the wall was enuyronned with a galery of thre heightes for men to stande in and beholde, whiche galleries were also of stone. And in the space that two men mought stande & talke, there was a small pyller of marble, decked with ymages of men that deserued noble reynembrance. The place was deuyded or set out with many large alayes, playne and strayght, conteynnyng in bzeade one hundred fecte, and in length one thousande fete, those alays were floored with playster, and the resydue was thycke sprad with fyne grasse and camomyl, haupng here and there bankes for men to rest them whan they were werpe. The yonge gentylmen of the cite whan they repaired to the palaice to gyue their attendance, they in the meantyme that the emperour was in preparynge hym forwarde

warde, exercysed them selves, some in the sayde alays, in runnyng oꝛ castyng the balle, somme in the grene places wꝛastlyng leappynge, and castyng of the dart. And in the galleries stode other of the nobilitie & gentylmen, suche as lysted to beholde them. And without the walles were great and hygh trees of cypresse and fyte, with brode toppes, comuayd thyrther with great industry: which trees dyd cast ouer the walles a pleasant vmbꝛage oꝛ shadowe, and defended them that did exercise from the vehement heat of the sunne beames. And also in wynter kepte the place moze mylde & temperate in resolupnge oꝛ breakyng the violent and cold blastes of the northern and western wyndes. Often tymes the emperour hym selfe delyted to come and beholde the sayde exercyses: but in his owne persone he neuer exercysed hym selfe but pꝛiuply, and a few being pꝛesent, to the intent that if he were vanquished in any feate (as sometyme it hapned, although fewe menne surmounted hym in strength and delyuernes) he wold not gꝛue occasion to be dyspraised, & had in contempt of his subiectes. Whan by extreme heate in the sommer, oꝛ by rayne & other vehement tempestes of wynter, the sayde exercyses moughte not be vsed, than the yonge gentylmen some repaired to the saide lybraries and passed the tyme vertuously in readyng, wrytyng, oꝛ playeng on instrumentes, dyuers haunted the scholes of philosophers, rhetoricians, and poetes (of the whiche sozte there were at that tyme in Rome a greate numbꝛe) and herde them either recite their owne warkes, oꝛ expounde other olde authoꝛs. Many wolde resoꝛte to the common houses callyd Theatres, and purposyng some matter of philosophye, wolde there dys-

L.ii.

pute

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pute openly. Other wolde pyke out of some auncient
 story some question concernyng martiall or ciuile po-
 lycie, and in commendynge or dyscommendynge it, de-
 clare their opinyons and sentences in the fourme of a
 consultation: whiche exercise was of no lytell impo-
 tance to the increase of wytte and prouysion of coun-
 saylours. And at suche exercyse the emperour prynci-
 pally delpyted to be p̄sent in his owne person, as well
 to haue knowledge of other mens wittes and toward-
 nes, as also to gather of their reasons some sentence
 or matter, which being kept in remembrance, mought
 perchaunce profyte hym in matter more serious or er-
 nest occasion. Besydes these persons there sayled not
 to be some, more gyuen to play than to study, whiche
 also had a fayre and large place in the palayce, where
 they played at the chesse and other lyke games, wher-
 in they mought be pleasantly occupied, wherin the win-
 nyng was neyther golde nor syluer, but only victorie
 and commendation of wytte or dyligence. Not with-
 standynge it was lesulle for theym at suche games to
 play for money, so it exceded not a summe certayn, whi-
 che was assessed by the emperour and senate. At dyce
 it was not to any man lesull to playe: The emperour
 haupyng this sentence alway in his mouth, Our fore-
 fathers trusted in wysedome and prowesse, and not in
 fortune: and despyed victorie for renoume and hono-
 ur, and not for money: And that game is to be abhoyred,
 wherein wytte sleapeth, and ydelnes with couetyse is
 onely lerned. And for the mortal hate and indignation
 that he bare to this losse of tyme (for so ought it rather
 to be called, than a play) He made a lawe, which was
 ratified by the authoritie of all the senate and people.
 That

That yf any manne were founde playeng at dyce, he Dyce play-
enge.
shuld be taken for frantike, or as a foole natural, whiche could not wel gouerne hym selfe: and his goodes and landes shuld be committed to sage and discrete personages, apoynted by the hole senate, whiche employing on hym that which was thought necessary for his estate, or degree, shulde bypunge truely that whiche remayned to the comon treasour: to the intent that whan he returned to thyspe, or was scene by a good space of yeres, to be good husband, in employeng well and honestly that portion that he hadde, he shulde be estates restored as well to his landes and goodes, as to the reuenues and profyttes that were growen in the meane tyme, whyle they were confyscate or in the rule of his tutours. fynally nexte to theues and extorcioners the emperour moste hated them, whiche after the sayd lawe being made, were found to be dyse players, and wold not haue any of them called eyther to office or counsaile.

Of hospitailes and other prouision made by Alexander for men that were deceptite, or so diseased that they could not labour.
Lapi. ppiii.



IN A Tyme the Emperour Alexander visytinge all partes of the cite of Rome, to beholde howe the Temples and other solemne edifices were kepte and repaired, in passinge throughe the stretes he behelde a great numbre of persones, some defaced with horrible diseases, and some mutylate of theyr members, as lackyng armes or legges, or the necessarpe vse of the one or the other, whiche he consyderyng with a
L.iii. severe

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seuere and graue countenaunce, at the laste sayde to a noble mā called Iulius Frontinus, who at that tyme was Pryetoꝝ oꝝ Gouernour of the citie vnder the Emperour: what sorte of people be these, whiche beinge horrible and noyouse to beholde, do seeme vnprofitable to the weale publyke, sens they can not labour, but consume those thynges whiche are ordeyned foꝝ them that can defende the weale publyke and vs whan occasion requireth. Than answered Frontinus.

Syꝝ they be your naturall subiectes, wherof parte be depꝝyued of theyꝝ membꝝes by chaunce of warre, where in they haue serued you and your noble progenitours Emperours of Rome, some doo lacke the office of theyꝝ membꝝes, by naturall infirmities, the residue, whiche to your maiestie and all other seemeth to be an horrible spectacle, are men attached with greuous sickenneses, whiche do happen to them (as physicians do say) by the putrefaction of naturall humoꝝs. And wherof (saide the Emperour) procedeth such putrefaction of humours, suppose you. Cruely (sayde Frontinus) as I haue redde and herde saye, it cometh of oone of these causes, eyther foꝝ as moche as great abundaunce of superfluouse humours thicke and clammy, be dispersed in the body, wherby the pores (whiche are lyttel holes in the skynne throughout all the body, that be inuisible) be stopped, soo that the exhalation oꝝ byethe inclosed in the body, maye not issue out by the same pores: wherunto a strange oꝝ vnnaturall heate beinge ioyned, maketh the sayde putrefaction. Somtyme it hapneth of meates oꝝ dꝝynkes, beinge corrupted ere they be receyued. Somtyme where as well the ayꝛe as the bodyes of men be distempered.

pred. Also it hapneth sometyne by the wrathe of god, where he is offended or neglected in such duetie as belongeth vnto hym, as it hath ben percepued often tymes in this citie, and declared by prophetes.

CYe haue answered ryght wel (sayd the emperour) vnto my demande. But yet for as moch as I suppose, that ye cal them superfluous humors, which are more than conueniente to the naturall proportion and temperature of the body, wherein they be, I pray you tell me if ye can, wherof cometh that superfluous abundaunce, and by what occasion do they become thicke and clammy, wherby the pores (as ye say) be stopped. Cruely, sayde Frontine, as I haue hard of phisitions, and also dayly experience and reason declareth it, it proceedeth of repletion and idelnesse, that is to saye, by eatinge immoderately aboue that whiche natural heate maye concocte in the stomake, also ingorginge meate vpon meate, ere that meate whiche was fyrst eaten be fully digested, also by not vsynge competent exercise, wherby nature is comforted, and prepareth her selfe to labour about the concocting and digestyng of that whiche the body receyueth. Ye haue nowe satisfied me (sayde the Emperour) and well to the purpose. Nowe beholde, sayde he. Frontine honorable father, what a pernycious neglygence was in our predecessours Emperours, besides the il example of diuerse of them, which haue like il tutors, suffered the people of Rome theyr pupilles so many yeres, dayly to consume them selues by licence in lypynge, whiche hath brought into the citie suche horrible sickenesse, whiche I wyl prouide to expell thence if it be possible.

CThe nexte daye folowynge he assembled his counsaile,

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sayle, whiche as I sayde befoze was of fyfty reuerend
 personages, to whom he declared the communication
 betwene hym and Frontine, who at that tyme was pre-
 sente, beinge one of the counsaylours, assymyng that
 he was fully determyned, as wel to prouyde for them,
 whiche eyther were attached with the sayde horryble
 sykenesses, and for those whiche were by warres for
 the weale publike mutulate in theyr membyres, or mai-
 med, as also to put cleane awaye, or at the leste waye
 to minyshe the originall occasyons of the sayde syke-
 nesses. Whiche noble entrepryse beinge of al them that
 herde hym, commended: fynally it was thought expe-
 dient by the noble Emperour, and by all his sayd cou-
 sayle approued, that within the citie of Rome there
 shulde be two fayre and large hospytalles builded, to
 receyue and kepe theym, whiche were soo mutulate or
 maymed in the warres, that they could not exerceise
 theym selues in manuell occupation (for all other la-
 bours were done by captiues, bondemen, and slaues,
 and the Romanes were therof discharged) Also with-
 out the citie in some village nygh to it, wherby passed
 some ryuer, shulde also be edified two other hospital-
 les ample and necessary for fyue hundred sick persons,
 vnto whom shuld be appoynted fyue phisitions, sub-
 stancially lerned in phisike, and well experienced.
 Also fyue expert surgeons, with two apoticaries, men
 of good credence and trust, whiche shulde be bounden
 to haue alway al necessary drouges, bigorous in their
 force and vertue, without sophistication or other de-
 cepte in symples or compoundes. Also that they shuld
 burne or vtterly reiect all thynges, whiche were eyther
 corrupted, or so dyed, that it shulde seme to the phis-
 tions

tions (who shuld as oft as they list examyn the wares) to be noxious, or to medicine vnprofytable. The meate whiche was ordeyned for these sicke persones, shulde be so lyttell in quantitie, that it was lesse than suffycient for any hole person. And whan it was asked of the Emperour, why he wolde that they shulde haue so lyttell a pytaunce, he answered meryly, that he dyd it for thre speciall consyderations. The fyrste was, that he had red in the booke of Galene, the most excellent physician, that the more one nourished bodie vncleane, and not suffyciently purged, the more he dyd hurte them. Also if the meate were more than the sicke men coulde eate, the ministers about them wolde selle that whiche was lefte, and whan they had gathered thereby moche money, epyther they wold lyue therewith riotously, and neglecte theyr dueties in attendynge the sicke folke, or elles with that gayne prouyde for them selues some more welthy and easy lyuynge, so that in conclusion, the sicke people shuld be destitute of conuenient ministers to awayne on them. The thynde consyderation was, that if the sicke men hadde abundaunce of good meate, many of them remembryng, that whan they were hole, they shulde be constrainned to some occupation, and that they shulde not than eate so moche meate and so good, as they eate in the hospital, whete they laye well and at reste. Wherefore perchance whan they were hole, they wolde fynde the meanes to fall estones in theyr sayde sykkenes or other lyke, that they moughte be brought agayne to the hospitall. Suche myserable nature remaineth in some men, that to lyue idelly and voluptuously, they wyl chole rather to be sicke, than to be healed.

¶

These

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These allegations of the wise emperor was than confirmed, by diuerse whiche had knowen it by long experience. Concernynge them whiche were mutulate or maymed in warres for the weale publik, they shuld haue a more plentifulle entertaynement, if he were in pouertie or lacked frendes. But they whiche were not in that necessitie, shulde haue appoynted by the Senate and the Emperours consente, an honeste proportion in coyne and wyne, to spend in theyr owne houses, as a thankfull remembrance of the Senate and people for theyr good endeavour whyles they were able.

Moreouer to prouide for tyme to come, that is to saye, that the causes before remembred, whereof the sayde horrible sickeneses proceded, he assayed, that the beste and moste sure meane, was to pacifye the ire of god, and to make hym beneuolent vnto the people, whiche shulde be moste assuredly done, by excludinge horrible vices and abhominations out of the cite, and to honour god purely. As for the disposition of mennes bodies, made apte by surfettes and idelnesse to receyue corruption, and consequently horrible sickeneses, he determined to make an Edict or imperyll ordinance, confirmed by an acte of the Senate, that no man shuld vse more than two meales in one day, and that there shoulde be at the leaste. vi. houres betwene euery meale. Also that the Censores or correctours of maners, shulde take diligent hede, that if they founde or were informed, that any manne of the commynalte wente to his meale, before he had wrought sufficiently in some occupation, that the same Censores shoulde cause hym to be apprehended and kepte in some prison, by the space of thre dayes, hauinge but ones in
the

the daye onely, one ounce of breade, and a lyttell water, without any other nourishment: the Emperour here rehersynge a prouerbe, wherof he had herde part of the chrysten men: Let hym eate that labourerth, for he that labourerth not, is not worth that thyng that he eaterth. And suche as moughte not be withdrawen from ydelnesse, he wolde haue them sent into Spayne, to digge for gold: or into the illes called Cassiterides, to labour in tyne woorkes. And if within a whyle they laboured well without coercion or grutchynge, those shulde be reuoked into the cite, there to apply diligently theyr occupation.

He wolde also that the common people shoulde not haue at one meale, but one kinde of fleshe or fysh, and that shulde not be eyther delycate, or in great quantitie. And if any man were founde doinge other wise, he shulde forsaite to the common treasour double the value of the meate whiche he had for that meale provided. And that no gentylman shuld haue mo than thre sundry dysches at oone meale, besydes fruite: nor any tenatour aboue, tith. diuerse dishes, and one kinde of fruite if he lyst. whiche number he hym selfe dyd not excede, although no lawe dyd therto compell hym. He wolde not that any citizen shuld resoꝝt to open tauern, but that euery man shoulde haue his prouision in his owne house. And that tauernes and common Cookes shuld serue onely for them, whiche dwelled out of the cite, and came thither for some necessarye busynesse. And if any citezen were founde in tauerne, eatynge or drynkyng, he shulde be sente for to the Censoꝝes, and be sharply rebuked, at the seconde tyme, excluded out of all assemblies, and noted euer after as a man out of

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credence or possibilitie to any preferment. At the thyrde tyme he shulde be sent to the mynes, and there remain, vntyl he seemed to haue amended his maners. A gentylman shulde be at the fyrste tyme rebuked, at the second tyme, lose the name of a gentylman, and be rebeked amonge the base people. the thyrde tyme his goodes shulde be commytted to a tutor, wherof he shuld haue no portion, vntyll it were well percepued that he had vtterly leste resoꝝtynge to tauernes. A Senatour beinge founde in suche places, shuld incontinent be discharged out of the Senate, beinge durynge his lyfe without hope to be therto restored.

¶ When the emperour Alexander had concluded these thynges with his owne counsaylours, he soone after came into the senate, and there recited in an eloquent and sobze oration, the sayde articles, declarynge what feruent desyre he had to saue the people of Rome, not onely agaynst outward hostilitie, but also agaynst inward perylles and consumption of their bodyes by horrible syckenesses, whiche oration fynished, all the senate with teares in their eyes for gladnesse, in the name of them selues and the people, rendred most hartly thanks to the emperours maiestie. And forthwith without any exception or myslikynge of any one thing, they confirmed it by an act of the senate. And the next day the Tribunes assembled the people, and declared to them all that preceded: which they so ioyously herd and recepued, that they ratified it with their common consentes with these acclamations. Noble Alexander we pray the goddis, that they haue no lasse care of your maiestie than ye haue for vs. Most happy be we that we haue you amonge vs. Noble Alexander, the goddis

goddis preserve you, the goddis defende you, procede forth in your purpose. We oughte to loue you as our father, to honour you as our lord, to meruaile at you as a god here lyving among vs. Thereto they added: Noble Emperour, take what ye wylle of our treasure and substance, to accomplishe your purpose.

The emperour heyring of this liberal offer, caused to be answered in his behalfe, by Frontine his Pryetor. The emperour thanketh you, but nothyng he will charge you with, touchyng the buyldyng and furnyschyng of the sayde.iiii.hospytalles, for he will doo it of his owne treasure: only two thynges he requirerh of you, whiche shall not be burdeynous to you.

Fyrst that ye ceasse not to pursue and obeye continually all the sayde statutes and ordynaunces. The seconde, that ye will be content, that suche common reuenues, whiche seeme to hym vayne employed and agaynst the weale publyke, maye without any grutchyng of your parte be layde to the mayntenance of the said hospitals. Therat al the people estones with one voyce cryed: Do noble emperour what shall seme to you good. For your most blessid nature can not erre, nor do amysse any thyng that ye purpose. Herat the emperour reioycing, and remembryng that longe tyme before, he thought that the playes callyd Florales and Lupercalles, and the abhomyable ceremonies of Isis (in the which were shewed by men and women naked, moste abhomyable motions and tokens of lechery) were prouokers and nourysers of beastely vice: he therfore by the cosent of the senate, abolyshed the said playes and ceremonies. And the reuenues, which belonged to the mayntenance of them being very great,

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he appoynted to lay them vnto the sayde hospitalles,
 with some part of his owne possessions, which he had
 purchased. Finally the sayd foure hospitalles within
 the space of one yere were buylded on the ryuer of Ty-
 ber in the moste ample and magnifike facion: so that
 all the chambers of the syck people were so made, that
 the floozes of them were .x. fete aboue the ground, and
 distant one from an other .xx. fete, euery chamber ha-
 uing his bayne, and freshe water conuayed into eue-
 ry one of them by a cundyte, their places of easement
 ouer the ryuer, the wyndowes opening north & northwest,
 the floozes of great thych planks close ioynded, in the
 nether story were the sellers, larders, wardropes, and
 suche other offyces. At the south syde were lyke many
 chambers, the wyndowes opened towarde the north,
 the kytchyns and lodgynges of offycers & minystrs,
 whych shulde serue the sycke men were at the weste
 ende. At the east ende hauing a prospect into the north
 was the ware houses, which serued for medicines, to
 theyn were ioynded the lodgynges of the apoticaries,
 phylitions and surgeons, and they were ryghte fayre
 & honestly furnyshed. Of no lesse magnificence were
 the two hospitals in the cite, but rather moze costly,
 wherby the beaultie of Rome was moch augmented.
 These thynges being stablyshed, the senate toke on
 them the gouernance of them, appoyntyng euery yere
 by lotte ten senatours to be therof surueyours and con-
 trollers of all the offycers and other minystrs. And
 the same senatours at the ende of theyr yere to make
 accompt openly to the Tribunes and people, of the im-
 ployment of euery parcell of the sayde reuenues. And
 if any were founde in arreage, he shulde be compel-
 led

led immediately to pay to the treasury of the sayd hospitals foure tymes as moch as the arrerage amounted to. Finally so moche commoditie hapned vnto the citie of Rome by the sayde hospitalles and other ordinaunces befoze reherfed, that within very fewe yerres after, no foule sykkenes was perceiued to be in the citie nor ydell person, by occasion wherof a great parte of the chambers in the sayde hospitalles were vacant and moche of the reuenues were saued: whiche being brought to the common treasury, afterward eased the people of taxes in tyme of warre, to their no lytle comfort and quietnes.

In some sundry wyse Alexander reuerfed his owne person, so that he was neuer vnprofessably occupied. Ca. xxiij.



HHE MYNDE of this noble emperour was so feruently set and determyned, to the good gouernance and aduancement of the weale publyke, and the conseruation of the same, that in eght the fyfthe yerres of his empire, whiche was the mooste parte of his reigne, in as moche as he reigned but. xiii. yerres and. ii. dayes, he dyd almoste none other thyng, but contynually syt with his counsaillours, whiche were neuer fewer than fyfty men excellent in lernynge and vertue, traictynge and deuplynge thynges expedient for the weale publyke. And by the example of Augustus the emperour, he reported to the hole senate ones in a moneth, suche thynges wherupon they were concluded, with the principall reasons whiche therto induced them, whiche if the more part of the senate semblably,

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blably liked, than were the pꝛouisions oꝝ oꝝdināces deuised, by their sentence appꝛoued, & incontinently enacted and published. And to the intent he wold not haue his labours & the authoritie of the senate frustrate by the lacke of execution (Not withstanding that he had many espialles as I sayd before, to awaite the defaultes of officers) he vsed many tymes to dysguise himselfe in diuers strange facions, as somtyme in the habite of a scholer of philosophye, comen out of Grece, and speaking nothing but Greke, which he dyd most exquisitely. oftentymes lyke a marchant, come out of Siria, oꝝ Persia, whiche had than but one language, and that spake themperour naturally, foꝝ as moch as he was borne in Siria. And hauinge with him one oꝝ two men of that countrey, which he dyd counterfaite, he lyke a scholer oꝝ seruant wolde one day haunte one parte of the citie, an other day an nother parte: And most politikely fynd occasion to se the state of the people, with the industry oꝝ negligence of them that were officers, whiche pꝛogresse he wolde neuer dyscouer to any man, but only to Ulpian, oꝝ one oꝝ two mo of his most secrete counsailours oꝝ seruantes, neither before that he began it, noꝝ after, and to them that accompanied hym, he commaunded, that they shoulde kepe it euer secrete, as they wolde auoyde his moste greuous displeasure. And in dede durynge his lyfe, it was by them neuer dyscouered. But somtyme he coulde not so escape vnknownen, but that he was somtyme perceyued, but dreading his seueritie, they that met with hym, and knewe hym, darste not salute hym, oꝝ make any sygne of knowledge vnto hym. But whan that they had dysclosed it, all they that herde it, examyned their

they; owne actes, and al they, which at that tyme had done any thyng worthy to be reproued, liued in dreade lokynge to be therfore corrected, or at the leest wayes blamed. Cōtrarywysse, they which had done any thing worthy cōmendation, toke meruaylous comfort, doubtyng not, but that their good actes shulde eyther with benefytte or with the emperours p̄senses, be shortly rewarded, wherunto soone after was added to profite eyther in some office, or in other yerele reuenues.

After that he had reduced the citie to this honorable state, he than by the aduise of his most discrete counsaylours, ones or twyse in the weke, vsed to solace out of the citie, with a great company with hym of honorable personages. for he neuer shewed hym self openly as Emperour, but with a greate and honourable presence, aboue any other kyng of the worlde, albeit than he exp̄essed a meruaylous familiaritie to all men indifferently, that lyst to approche hym, without repulse to any man being in honest besture, and not dysleashed with infectiue syckenesse. In this solasyng he hunted the harte, the wylde boze, or suche as be callyd Alces, brought for the nones out of the great woddes of Germany, whyche be in quantitie higher and longer than any ore. He hunted also oftentymes the beare, but that neuer sayng only whan he was in the partes where they were bredde, saying, that forasmuche as the beare was of his nature a deuourer of cattel, he despyed not to haue of that kynde in those places where cattell is nourished. In huntynge these beastes he sometyme on horsebacke proued his strength, sometymes shotynge, otherwhyles castynge at them saucelyns, whiche serued for that purpose. Oftentymes he onely behelde other

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yonge

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ponge gentylmen huntynge, whyche he deuyned into sundry companies, and appoynted to them a numbꝛe certayne of arowes oꝝ lauelyns, to the intent that one shuld not be moze exercised, oꝝ take moze solace in huntynge than an other. The lyons, lybardes, tygres, panthers, and other lyke straunge and furpous beastes, he had in great numbꝛes, whiche were kepte onely to thintent that at certayne tymes in the Amphitheatre, & other lyke places in the cite oꝝ deyned to the purpose, the people mought take plesure in beholdynge them, & also seynge som such desperate persons, as wold auenture their lyues, fyght with some of the sayd beastes, oꝝ one beast to fyght with an other. But neuer wolde he lette any gentylman Romayne to do any suche battayl, sayeng, that he esteemed none so lytel, that he wold put hym in daunger foꝝ suche a beast, whose body beynge deade, was nothyng pꝛofytable.

He toke also pleasure to hunte the falowe dere, the too, & the hare with grethoundes, insoꝛcyng his hourse (wherein he moche delyted) to gyue as many tournes to the game that he hunted, as the grethoundes shuld do. And in that pastyme haupng to euery beast of beuery but two dogges at the moste, he contended with many other ponge gentyl men on hoursebacke, whiche were by hym selfe onely appoynted, to shew hym selfe mooste delyuer and redye to incountre and checke the game at the moste aduantage, wherin was a tyght pleasant and also pꝛofytable exerceyse, shewynge a bysage oꝝ representation of a skymyshe in warres, specially whan he hunted the hart, and the bestes named Alces. foꝝ thanne there required to be shewed moche strength and hardynes, and in the pursuite labour & peyn.

peynfulnes. And in this solace he vsed moche prudence. For they whiche one day hunted with hym, shulde not hunt the next day, but behold other huntynge, and mark diligently the lacke of theym that hunted in to moche haste or slownes, to thintent that they mought refrain such default. And they that dyd best were praysed. And by hym that was the prouost of hunting, it was regestred in the emperours presence, howe many tymes euery man was commended, to the intent that as roumes of capytayns and petite capitaynes were voyde in any of the emperours garrisons, they which in the sayde huntynge were iudged mooste actife, yf other good maners were in them founden accoꝝdyng, shuld be preferred to suche roumes after theyr merites. But alway this good emperour had a vigilant respecte to the foume of their luynges, and aduanced no man sodaynly, but with longe delyberation and good aduysment.

Whereouer not withstanding his huntynge or other recreation, he neuer wolde let any day passe, withoute eyther consultyng some thyng for the weale publyke, or gpyng some true sentence in iugement, or redyng som place in good authoꝝs, to augment his wysedom, or wytyng some stozz or other thyng worthy remembrance, he was suche a nygard of tyme, that he was meruaylously greued, yf he spente any daye in solace without doynge of any of those thynges that I haue reherced. Not withstanding that in the meane tyme, all the affaires of the empire were treated and ordred by men assured good and faythfull, whome he knewe wel wolde not be corrupted. And whan nede required, he herd matters befoꝝe it was day, and prolonged the

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tyme vntyl it were late & within nyght. And not with-
standyng he neuer shewed countenance of werynes, ne
to be in any parte frowarde or angry: but had alwaye
one maner of visage, and in all thynges seemed merce
and pleasant. Undoubtedly he was of an excellent pru-
dence, as in whom no man could fynde any lacke, and
of so redy a wytte, that if any man merily wolde taste
hym with a pety taunt, he shuld shortly perceyue that
he vnderstode hym. After the comune affaires as well
ciuile as marciall, he gaue the moze parte of his study
to the readyng of greke authoꝝ, redyng the bookes of
Plato of a publyke weale. And whan he wolde reade
any latin bookes, he rad specially the bookes of Culli, of
a publike weale, and also his offices. Sometymes he
radde oratours and poetes: amonge whom was Se-
renus Ammonicus, whome he knewe and fauoured,
and also Horace. He radde moche the lyfe of the great
Alexander, whom specially he folowed, not withstan-
dyng he abhorred his drunkennes and crueltie. All be
it the one & the other is defended and excused by some
good authoꝝ: whome oftentymes the emperour mo-
che beleued. After his studye he applyed hym selfe to
wastyng, runnyng or thowpyng of the balle mode-
rately. After his exercyse he haupng his body anoynt-
ed with precious and holsom oyntementes (as it was
at that tyme the vse) entred into a bayne or stewe not
hotte, where he taried sommetyme by the space of one
houre, not onely to washe hym, but also to exercise him
selfe in swymmyng. And whan he was come out of the
bayne, he wold eate a good quantitie of mylk, sopped
with fyne manchet, and a few egges, and therto wold
he drynke methe, and takyng this for his bꝛeakfast,

Mulsun.

to

somtyme he wolde dyne also: And oftentymes he abyeyned vntyll supper. Alway at after none he applyed the tyme to spynnyng and readdyng of letters and bylles, they whiche were called remembrauncers, standyng about hym. and if by the reason of sickenesse or age it were payneful for them to stand, he caused them to syt downe, haupyng the secretaries or clerkes readdyng the sayde letters or bylles vnto theym. Alwaye the emperour haupyng a penne with his owne hande added to, that whiche was necessarpe, but that dyd he by the aduise or sentence that semed beste or most conuenient. whan he had perused al these thynges, al his frendes were let in to gyther, & who that lyst mought frely and boldly speake than vnto hym, and he merily and comfortably gaue eare vnto them. albeit he wold not here alone any man, but onely his great mayster; or Alpian the lawyer, and such as were associate with hym in some speciall cause of Justice; but yet he neuer talked w any of them, but that he caused Alpian also to be present. In this forme this noble emperour passed his tyme, enterlacing therewith other maner of solace.

Howe the Emperour Alexander, at the requeste of his mother Mama mea, sente for the moste excellent clerke Origene: and of diuerse notable sentences spoken by the same emperour concernyng the recepyng of the christen fapth. Capi. ppv.



AT THIS TIME there was in the ci- Eucol-
tie of Alexandria in Egipte a man ex-
cellepte in all maner of lernynge, and
therewith wonderfull eloquente in the
greeke tonge, whose name was Ada-
mantius Origenes: in so moch as whan

he was but of the age of. xliii. yeres. he was in all the liberall sciences and in philosophye lerned exactly aboue all mennes estimation, he was sonne of one Leonidas, who for the chrysten fayth was beheaded. Also this Origene was chrystened, and from his tender age most perfectly brought vp in the rules of that religion, whiche he alway moste exactly obserued, as wel in all kyndes of abstinence, as in example of humilitie, and contempte of thynges worldelye. He was for his great lernynge and seueritie of lyfe, appoynted by the byshoppe of chrysten men in Alexandria to preache and expounde the booke, which they called the Bible: by occasion wherof he drew a great number of people dayly to the sayde chrysten faythe: whiche althoughe the emperour Alexander knewe, after that he had perceyue, that they were exquisite folowers of vertue, & peace, he wolde not suffer that any of them shulde be apprehended or punished: but had them in great admiration and reuerence.

The fame of this great clerke Origene came to the eares of Hammea the Emperours mother, who (as some menne supposed) was al redy perswaded to embrace that profession. wherfore to be the more perfectly instructed therein, she moste affectionately couayted the presence of the sayde Origene. And therfore she awaytynng oportunitie, came to the emperour her sonne and desyred hym, that he wolde sende for the sayde Origene, whose famous lernynge was onely by report knownen vnto hym. To the whiche request he easely graunted. And he hym selfe indited letters to be directed to Alexander than being the bishop of chrysten men in Alexandria, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth.

Alex.

Alexander Emperour Augustus. Ac. to Alexander ^{The lētē}
the chiefe byshoppe of Christianes in the great citie of ^{ters of A}
Alexandria, well to doo. The fame of the vertue and ^{Alexander}
wonderfull lernynge of Adamantius Euenes, your ^{the Em}
great philosophet, soundeth continually in our eares, ^{perour.}
whiche maketh vs desyrouse to beholde and here him, ^{ΕΥΓΕΝΕ}
whose name contendeth in honorable renoume with ^{ΤΑΥ}
our imperiall maiestie. We notwithstanding not en-
uyninge his glozy, but couaytyng to be parte takers of
his inspired lernynge, and folowers of his vertue, do
require you, to lycence hym to come vnto vs to Rome
at his leysour without festination or trauayle. We
haue wrytten to our prouoste of Egypte, that he pro-
uide for hym all thyng expedient for his iourneye to-
warde vs. Fare ye well.

After that the byshoppe had receyued these letters,
he moche reioysynge therate, sente for Euenes. But
with great difficulty mought he perswade him to take
that iourneye, he allegynge by dyuerse argumentes,
that it shulde be moze necessary, that he continued his
preachynges and lessons, where a greate parte of the
people were all redy informed in the chrystian fapthe,
and dayly increased, and wared desirouse of the inter-
pretation of diuine misteries, than goinge to the citie
of Rome, where abounded al vice, pryde and tyranny,
there to sowe preciouſe sedes, as it were in the sand, or
to gyue orient perles to swyne. Yet fynally whan the
byshoppe and other sage personages had credyblly in-
formed hym of the moſte excellent vertues of the Em-
perour Alexander, and in what sorte he had reformed
the state of the citie of Rome, he condescended to goo
thither, whiche beinge intimate vnto the prouoste of
Egypte

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Egypte, he accordynge to the Emperours commaundement, prouyded for hym a shyppe with all thynges necessary vnto his iourneye. And because he behelde hym simply apparayled, he ordeyned for hym sundry garmentes in the moste honest sort that philosophers than vsed: but Dilgene wolde not receyue any parte therof, not so moch as hosen or shoues, but lyke as he alwaye accustomed to go from his chyldhode (that is to saye, in a synge garmente of clothe and barefoted) so went he to Rome. And whan at his arriuaile there were brought vnto hym a mule and a chariote, to ride in the whiche he beste lyked, he answered, that he was moche lasse than his maister Chryste, whiche rode but one daye in his lyfe, and that was on a sely asse mare. Wherfore he wold not ryde, except he were sycke or decrepite: so that his leggis mought not serue him to go.

The Emperour and his mother herynge of the comynge of Dilgene, caused hym to be brought in their pcesence, where he accordyng to his duety ryght humbly saluted the emperour knelynge, but the emperour with mooste gentylle countenaunce imbraced hym, and inforced hym to stande on his feete. Semblablye the emperours mother deuoutely saluted hym, reioysynge moche of his pcesence.

And whan the emperour had beholden his natyue grauitie, and most assured countenance, he in his hart iudged hym to be a reuerend personage. Than demanded he of hym, what thyng he professed. He answered, Veritie. The emperour asked of hym, what he mente thereby. He sayde, It was the worde of the lyuyng god, whych was infallyble. The Emperour asked, which was the lyuyng god, and why he so called hym.

Di-

Oigene answered, That he dyd put that distinction for a difference from them, whome men beinge longe drownded in errour dyd calle their goddis, whome they confesse to be ones mortall, and to haue dyed. but the god, whom he preached, was euer lyuyng, and neuer dyed, and is the lyfe of all thynges that be, lyke as he was the creatoꝝ of them.

¶ And whan the emperour had required hym to declare the vnitie of God the creatour, he deuoutly lyf-tyng vp his eyes, after a short meditation, with an incomparable and mooste compendious eloquence, he forthwith opened that mystery in suche wyse, that as wel to the emperour and his mother, as to all other standyng about theym (of whom I Eucolpius mooste happily was one) it semed that we were brought oute of a longe slepe, and than dyd we se thynges as they were in dede, and that whiche before we esteemed and honoured were but vain dreames and imaginations. Yet the emperour after a lyttell pause, sayde vnto Oigene, that he moch meruayled, why men of such wonderfull knowlege, shulde honour for God, a man that was crucified: being but of a pooꝛe estate and condition. A noble Emperour, sayd Oigene, Consyder what honour at this present tyme the wyse Athenienses yet do to the name and image of Codrus, their last kyng of Athenes, for as moche as at the tyme that warre was made by the two people called Deloponenses and Doxienses, agaynst the Athenienses, answer was made to them, whiche counsayled with Apollo at Delphos, that the Deloponenses and Doxienses, yf they slewe not the kyng of Athenes, they shulde haue the victoꝝ: wherof Codrus hearyng, preferryng the

safe-

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Safegarde of his people before his owne lyfe, toke on
 hym the garmentes of a slaue, and bearynge on his
 shulder a burdeyn of synnes, he wente to the hoste of
 the enemies, and there of a purpose quarelling with
 some of them, and in the pzeale hurtynge one with his
 knyfe, he was by hym, which was hurt, strikē through
 the body and slayne: by occasion wherof, after that it
 was perceyued and knowen of the ennemys, they be-
 inge confused, raysed theyr campe and departed. And
 for this cause the Atheniensis, haue euer sens had the
 name of Codrus in reuerence, and as all men do think
 worthily and not without reason. Nowe than consy-
 der most excellent pryncce, howe moche more worthy,
 with what greater reason and bounden duetie ought
 we and all men to honour Chyste, beinge the sonne of
 god, and god, who not only to pzeferue mankynd from
 daunger of the deupll, his auncient enemye, but also
 to delyuer man out of his dark and synkynge don-
 geon of errour, beinge sente by god the father frome
 the hyghest heuens, wyllyngly toke on hym the seruile
 garment of a mortall body, and hydyng his maiesty,
 lyued vnder the bylage of pouertie, and finally not of
 his ennemys immediately, but moche more agaynst
 reason, of his owne chosen people the Jewes, vnto
 whome he had extended benefites innumerable, and
 after his tempoꝝall natiuitie were his naturall people
 and subiectes, he quarelling with them, by declaryng
 vnto them their abuses, and pyeking them with con-
 dygne rebukes, at the last he was not slayne with soo
 easie a death as Codrus was, but in most cruel facion
 was scourged vntyll no place in his bodye was with-
 out woundes, and than had a crowne of long & sharpe
 thornes

thornes set and pressed on his heed, and after long tormentes and despytes, he was constrained to beare an heuy crosse, wheron afterwarde his both handes and feete were nayled with longe and greatte nayles of yron, and the crosse with his naked and bluddye body being lyfte vp on heyght, it was let falle with violence into a mortayse, that all his ioyntes were dissolved. And not withstanding all this tourment and ingratitude, he neuer grudged, but lyftryng vp his eyes vnto heuen, he prayed with a loude voyce, sayinge: Father forgyue them, for they knowe not what they do. This was the charitie moſte incōparable of the sonne of God, employed for the redemption of mankynde, who by the transgression of Adam the fyrſte man that euer was created, was taken prisoner by the deuyl, that is to say, kept in the bondage of errour & synne, from the actuall vision of goddis maiesty, vntyl he were in this wyse redemed, accōdyng as it was ordeyned at the begynnyng.

At these wordes of Origene all they that were present were wonderfully aſtonyed, and therewith the emperor with a sturdy countenance said vnto Origene: Ye haue wonderfully set forth a lamentable hystoꝛye, but yet notwithstanding therein be thynges dark and ambiguous, whiche do requite a moze playne declaration. For what maketh you bolde to asſyrme, that Iesus, whiche in this wyse was crucyfied, was the sonne of god & god, as ye haue called hym? Sye said Origene, sufficient testimony, whiche of all creatures reasonable ought to be beleued, and for the moſte certayne pꝛofe to be allowed. What testimony is that said the Emperour? Cruely, said Origene, it is in dyuers things.

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thynges. fyrst the promyse of god, by whom all this
 worlde was made. Also by his holy spirite speakynge
 by the mouthes of prophetes, as welle Hebrewes as
 Grekes and other whom ye call Vates and Sybillas.
 Thyrde by the natiuite of Iesus of a pure virgyne
 without carnall company of man, the moste pure and
 cleane fourme of his lyuynge without synne, his do-
 ctrine dyuine and celestiall, his myracles moste won-
 derfull and innumerable, all grounded on charitie on-
 ly without ostentation, his vndoubtfull and perfecte
 resurrection, the thyrde day after that he was putte to
 deathe, his gloriouse ascention by vnto heauen in the
 ptesence and syght of fyue hundred persones, whiche
 were vertuous and of good credence. Also the gyfte
 of the holy gooste, in speakynge all maner of langages
 and interpretynge scripture, not only by hym selfe, but
 also afterwarde by his apostles & disciples, & giuen to
 other by imposition of their handes. And al these thyn-
 ges ordinarly folowed accordyng vnto the said promi-
 ses & propheties. I omitt to speake of the confession of
 dyuels, which by Iesus and his apostles in his name
 were cast out of people, which were obsessed. The ora-
 cles & answeres of them, whom ye vnruly cal goddis,
 do remaine in confirmyng this testimony. And whan
 Origene had sayde all this, he forthwith began there,
 and disclosed the aunsweres of Apollo made at Del-
 phos, affirmyng Iesus to be God. afterwarde he re-
 cyted and declared the propheties as welle of the He-
 bryes as of the Sybilles and other. Last the promyse
 of god vnto the Patriarkes, by the whiche it manifes-
 tly appered, that Iesus was Christe and god, & that
 by his temporall natiuite he was kynge of Israell,
 and.

Howe ma-
 ny were at
 the ascentis
 of Christe.

and that the Jewes were his natural subiectes. Whiche declaration of Origene was so euident and plaine, and set forth with suche wonderfull eloquence, deuotion, and learning, that it perswaded the emperour and dyuers other, whiche than were present, wherof I Eu colpius was one, to embrace the profession of Christis faith and doctrine, for the which I gyue most humble thanks vnto god, by whose only grace I was called. And for that tyme the emperour gaue lycence to Origene to retourne vnto Alexandria: for as moch as he darste not attempte to publyshe the christen faythe by his auctoritie, the persecution of chrysten men beinge but late cessed, and they beinge yet odious to the Senate and people. Not withstandinge in his pryup closette he had the images of Christ, of Abraham and of Moses, and beinge by hym selfe he honoured oone god, as I my selfe being often tymes secreete with him dyd well perceyue. And at the laste he made request to the Senate, that there moughte be made a temple to Chryste, wherwith they all were sore greued, and dyd obstinately denye it, sayinge that they had counsayled with the goddes, of whom they had aunswere, that if that were suffred, al men shulde be christianes, and al other temples shoulde be made desolate. Wherfore he ceased his entrepryse, but alwaye he was studiouse in the booke of Chrysten men, and often tymes vsed their sentences. As whan any man wente out of the hyghe waye, and wold passe through an other mans ground, breakynge his inclosure, and rydynge ouer his coorne or grasse, if he perceyued it, he wolde cause hym to be beaten with stauces or rodde in his presence, after the qualitie of his trespasse: or if he were a man of honour

Lampridi

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of worshyp, he wolde gyue to hym great rebukes, and saye vnto hym, woldest thou haue that done vnto the, that thou doeste to a nother? And whan a man was punished for any suche trespase, he wolde cause it to be openly proclaymed: That whiche to thy selfe thou woldest not haue done, do not in any wyse vnto an other. Also whan cookes of the citie claymed a certaine place, whiche chysten men had, and his pleasure was therin required, he wrote in his rescripte, that it were better that god were there honoured in any maner of fassion, thanne that cookes shoulde haue therof possession.

CEuclapius wyrteth, that on a tyme he sayd to him, and to Philip his bondeman: I perceyue, ye do wonder at the lernynge of Origene, wherby ye be induced to embrace the chystiane profession. Trewely the humilitie and charytie of the chysten people, whiche I haue herde of, and do dayly beholde, doo moche more stee me to beleue, that they? Chyste is god, than the residue of all his perswasion.

And on a tyme whan two chysten men contended proudeply together, and they accused eche other of spekyng reprochefull wordes of the Emperour, he called them befoze hym, and prohibited them to name the selfes chysten men, saying: your pryde and malysie do declare, that ye be not the folowers of hym whome ye professe. wherfore though ye fynde lacke in me, the whiche I wyll gladly amende, yet wyll I not lette you agaynste iustye, rezone by your actes hym, whose lyfe and doctrine ye all doo affirme to be vncorrupted and without any lacke.

Whiche wordes being ones sprad amonge the chysten

ten men in the citie of Rome, it made them all afterwarde moze circumspecte, and in humilitie and charitie to be the moze constante.

How Mamma the Emperours mother exhorted hym to be married, and what wyse aunswere he made, and synallyt toke to wyfe the donghter of a noble & ancient senator. Cap. ppxi.



WHAN THE Emperour was come to the age of. xx. yeres, his mother Mamma exhorted hym to take to his wyfe some mayden of a noble and auncient house, to the intent that he mought haue generati- on, whiche shoulde be for the sure tranquillitie of the citie and empire, and to the principall comfort of him, the Senate, and people of Rome. After that he hadde diligently herde his mother saye all that she wolde, he made to her an aunswere in fourme folowynge: I dare well saye madame, that ye haue gyuen to me this counsaile, of a sincere and naturall loue, that ye beare towarde me your onely sonne. But for as moche as it is the mater, whiche within my selfe I haue moche moze debated than (I suppose) ye haue done, although perchance ye haue thoughte moze on it, I wyll declare vnto you, howe I finde in my fantasie, that the taking of a wyfe shuld be to the publyke weale and to my selfe moze daungerouse than fruitefull, specialllye at this tyme. for where ye wyll me to take a mayden, if she shall be moche yonger than I am, perchance she shall not be so apte for generation of chyldren, stronge and lusty as if she were of mo yeres. And I couayte not to deface the imperiall maiestie with chyldren weake and vnlusty. Also the Cudynesse of the Romaynes maye not.

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not susteyne to be gouerned, but of theym whiche as well in personage as wisdom be conuenient & seemely. If she shall be as olde, or elder than I am, thanne shal I bryng my selfe to moch vniquietnesse and trouble of mynde. for ye knowe well, it is not yet passynge foure yeres agone, that the abhomyable monster my kynsmanne Heliogabalus, lefte not onely the citie of Rome, But also all the countrey of Italy soo polluted with detestable lecherie, that with moche diffycultye mought one fynde an house, wherin had not ben committed some kynde of that vice, eyther voluntary, or els by inforcement. wherefore if I shulde mary one of the sayde citie or territory, althoughe I founde her by fame and experience a mayden, yet shuld not that discharge my mynde of suspicion: thynkyng alway, that she was rather so kepte by restraynte of lyberty, than by her owne chastitie, consyderynge that she dyd here or se dayly suche wanton allectiues and prouocations to lecherie, that the custome therof dydde assaulte the mynde so contynually, that it were well nyghe impossible to escape vncorrupted, although the body by vigilant custodye abode vndefyled: And this suspicion shuld wrape my hart in suche melancholy, that I shuld seldome be mery or pleasant with hir, who for my trust I coulde not loue perfectly. And to take a wyfe of any other countrey, ye knowe well it hath not bene the vse of Emperours, or other noble men of this cite, I suppose it hath ben for the warres, which hath & mought eftsones happen to be, betwene vs and these outward countreys. Wherefore yf the women therof shulde be married to the emperour and other of the nobilitie, and that soone after shuld happen hostilitie betwene them
and

and those cōntrayes, moche inconuenience moughte come to the citie and publyke weale by meanes of the women in fauourynge their parentes, the meanes I wyl not reherse, for offending of you and other ladies, and also sens you and all that are wyse, maye shortly coniecte what I meane. fynally I am determyned, not to alter that custome, whiche is bothe auncient and honourable. Moreouer I can not be sure to haue generation whan I am married, and thanne the onely cause therof is vtterlye frustrate. And to me, whycher shall be alway in study and busynes aboute the weale publyke, the wyfe remayneth a tedious impediment & charge superfluous. Seably shall I be vnto her an vnpleasent cumberhouse, fyndyng lytell ydell tyme to be in hir company, and being fatigate with busynes about the weale publike, I shall be lesse diligent and pleasant with her, than she wold haue me, wherof mought procede not only cōtencion betwene vs, but also matter of warre occasion. And where ye seeme to affirme, that my generation shoulde be for the tranquillitie of this citie and empire, and for the comforte of me, the senate and people: Trewely whan I remember what daughters the moste noble Augustus had, whom for their corrupted lyuyng, and for the grefes, whycher he therby susteined, he was wont to cal them his botches and boyles. Whan I think what sonnes the reuerend Naspasian, the wyse and most vertuous prince Marcus Antoninus, the honorable Seuerus left, for their successours in the empyre of Rome, whycher were all slayne for their detestable lyuynges, & howe lyttelle care I for chyldern, ye how glad wold I be alwaye to lacke them: that my benefites which I intende to im-

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ploie on the weale publike, by the folpe or vice of my
chylde be not consumed, men moze hating my name
foz that I haue begotten and lefte vnto theym in the
stede of a gouernour, a rybaulde or tyzaunt foz to suc-
cede me: than they wyl prayse me foz myne owne cha-
ritie. O what sorowe and peyne shall my soule suffre
(yf there be any care amonge theym, whiche be passed
out of this worlde) whan I shal beholde with immor-
tall eyes, my chylde, whiche is of myn owne substāce,
to abandon that thyng, whych I loued, to imbrace
that whiche I hated, to be of the Senate abhoyred, of
the people detested, and of al fozeyne princes dys-
dayned, and fynally of all honeste men persecuted lyke a
serpent or monster, lyke a wolfe or a tygre, infamed
foz lechery, pursuyd foz tyzanny: O happye sterilitie,
wherby lacketh annoyance. O hateful fertilitie, wher-
of cometh sycknes or pestilence. I am sure, that ste-
rilitie can no moze hurte me, but onely take frome me
the name of a father, or the dotynge pleasure to se my
lytell sonne ryde on a cokhorse, or to here hym chatter
and speake lyke a wanton. And I am not sure that fer-
tilitie shal byng to me any moze quietnes, thā I haue
all redy. Foz my chylde being of suche inclination, as
best shall content me, if dethe take hym from me, than
shall I languyshe in tourmentes incurable, consyde-
ryng that I can not well susteyne the death of my ser-
uantes. yf he lyue with me, and be eyther a foole, a ry-
bauld or tyzant, thā shuld I lyke Edippus scratch out
myn eyes, rather than I wold behold suche a monster
pcede of my body: ye rather flee hym with myne owne
handis, than to let such one to succede me. O if he esca-
ped me, I wold aske that onely reward of the senate &
people

people, that they wolde sacryfyce hym on my tumber whan I were buryed. Therfore mother I praye you cesse from exhortynge me vnto mariage, vntyll I be therto better dysposed, whiche shalbe, whan in beholding one, whiche perchance I haue not yet sene, some affection, or I be ware, may in me, as it hath in other, surmount bothe lernynge and wysedome.

With these wordes, the wyse lady shewynge her self as she were content, departed vnto her lodgyng. But it was not long after, that she bode the emperour vnto a supper and banket: And agaynst his comynge she had assembled a great numbere of the fayrest maydens in Rome, attendynge vpon their mothers, or on some other ancient and sadde gentyll women, whome whan the emperour beheld, he forthwith coniected the intent of his mother. Notwithstanding he moste gentyllie countenanced them all, and shewed hym content well with their company, although it were not correspondet vnto his fantasie. But after that he had eaten and drunke more wyne than he was accustomed to do, being chaufed in body and spryte, in castynge his eyes hyther & thither, he at the last beheld an excellent faire mayden named Memmia, which was doughter of a noble man called Sulpicius. And after that he hadde deuyfied with her, and founde her to be wyse, sobre, and of syngular humilitie, he moche loued her, and at the laste by the continual prouocation of his mother, and consent of his counsaile, he afterwarde maried her, but she dyed shortly after, wherwith he toke no lyttell dyscomforte, sayeng oftentymes: So greatte a treasure as I haue loste, a man seldome fyndeth. Deathe were gentyl, if he toke nothing but that that offedeth.

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Eucolpius wyll not be knowen, that he had any moother wyues: but Lampyridius vseth the authoritie of one Desippus, who sayth, that Alexander had an nother wyfe, who was doughter of oone Martianus. But whan it was founde, that he wolde haue slayne the emperour by treason, he was put to deth, and his doughter separate frome the Emperour. Herodianus affirmeth, that all that was done by the malycie of Hammea the emperours mother, without other cause, only bycause she coulde not susteyne hir sonnes wyfe to be called Augusta. and therfore she caused her to be exiled into Affrica, and all the landes and goodes of her father, Hammea toke and conuerted vnto hir owne profite: whyche reporte I suppose not to be true, considering that Hammea was so wyse and vertuose a lady, and being wel instructed in Christis religyon, knew well how detestable vnto god is enuy & crueltie.

Of the seueritie that Alexander vsed, as well towarde them that were proude, as to them that were malaperte and dyd not theyr dutie. Cap. xxvii.



NA Tyme he beinge Censor or correctour of maners with Julius Paulus & Callidius Rufus, and walkynge in the stretes of Rome with a fewe other disguised lyke communers, he hapned to meete with a senatours sonne, hauynge with hym a greatte trayne of yonge menne, whom he and they that were with hym saluted, doinge to hym reuerence: the yonge man behelde theym disdainefully, and with a proude countenaunce, without sayinge any thyng: and they whiche were with hym dyd also the semblable. wherfore

foze the Emperour at his retaine home to his palayce
 incontinente discharged the father of the sayde ponge
 man out of the senate: sayinge, that he was not wor-
 thy no: meete to be of that reuerende company, wher-
 by the weale publyke oughte to be gouerned, and the
 emperour hym selfe to be chiefly counsayled, sense he
 had so yll brought vp his sonne, that not onely he him
 selfe lacked humanitie, and extended a moze statelly fa-
 cion than perteyned to his degree, but also by his ex-
 ample caused theym that were with hym, to embrace
 pryde, which is captayne of vices, and chiefe confou-
 der of all publike weales. Sone after he sente fo: the
 sayde ponge gentylmanne and his companions, and
 sharply rebuked them, saying, that pryde is the most
 horrible monster, and of al men so hated, that it is not
 had in detestation of good men onely, but also to them
 whiche be proude, they that be lesse proude be in dedde
 of all other mozte odious. And as pryde sleeth loue,
 prouoketh dysdayne, kendaleth malyce, confoundeth
 Iustyce, and subuerteth weales publyke, soo gentyl-
 nesse and affabilitie doo steepe vp affection, augmente
 beneuolence, incende charitie, supporte good equitie,
 and pferue mozte suerly countreyes and cities. And
 after that he had charged them to abandone and leaue
 the sayde vyce and other, and to imbrace vertue and
 gentyll maners, whereby they shulde acquite moze e-
 stimation than by highe countenance, and menacing
 them, that if the sayde faulte were esteemes spied in
 them, he wolde not only exclude them from hope of al
 dignitie, but also from the name of nobilitie, and put
 them in the number of the base communers, and so he
 let them departe.

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This sharpe correction aualid many a proude hart so that by custom of gentilnesse, pride was so moch abhorred throughout the citie, that if any manne, perchance by a naturall habite or fascion, or vnaduyssedly and not of a purpose, seemed to theym that behelde hym, to haue a proude countenaunce, he was eyther laughed at, or disdaynefully wondred at, soo that he was constrayned, had he neuer so sturdy a courage, to be a shamed. wherof proceded a prouerbe: Slaues and bondemen haue only this libertie, to vse a proude countenaunce, bycause they be shamelesse: and noble men be knowne alwaye by theyr gentylnesse.

It was not longe after that the emperour lokynge out at a wyndowe of his palayce, perceyued certayne gentylmen exercisynge them selves in wastlyng, runnyng, and leappynge, to whome came certayne communers of the base people, and without any sygne of reuerence, or askynge leaue, they myngled them selues with the gentylmen, and malapertly enterprysed to contende with them in those recreations, with arrogante boistynge and wordes of presumption. And whan the gentylmen beinge therewith offended, bade them be contente with theyr degree, and elles where to passe the tyme with theyr companyons and equalles, the sayde communers takynge that in despyte, with countenaunce bragginge and sturdy, proudeleye made answer, that euery of theym was better able to lyue, & had moze abundance to vse liberalitie, and to haunt pleasures, than the beste of the other. And if the emperours garde had not come the soner, the communers had faught with the gentylmen, and put them in danger, for they were mo in nombre. This as it hapened the

the Emperour beholdinge, he toke therewith a vehement displeasure, beinge therfore so angry, as erst he was neuer. Wherfore he caused the sayde communers to be kept in sauegarde, and straptely commaunded, that nothyng that was done shulde be reherfed, vntyll he had further declared his pleasure. And forthewith he sente for the Prouoste and Tribunes, and required them to sende theyr mynisters to summe all the communers of Rome beinge men, to be the second daye folowinge in the Theatre of Pompey, where the emperour in his owne persone wolde also be presente, and declare to them thynges concernynge the mooste daungerouse state of the weale publyke. The Emperours commaundement, accordyngely was executed. And a haulte pase made at the ende of the Theatre, where the emperour shoulde sytte in his maiestie, and all the people shulde playnely beholde hym, and perfytely here hym. For the Theatre was a place made in the fourme of a bowe that hath a great bente. And in all the rounde parte were many benches one behynde an other and ouer an other (for it was narroweste beneth, and vppward grewe larger and larger) And there sate all the people. At the strapte ende, whiche was to the other parte as the stringe to the bowe were the seates of the Senatours, and behinde them of the gentlemen. At the tyme appoynted, the people beinge in the Theatre as they were commaunded, the Emperour came accompanied onely with the Prouoste and Tribunes, leauynge all his garde at the gate of the Theatre. At his comynge all the people dydde ryse, and with mooste ioyouse acclamations, dyd salute hym: but he contrary to his olde custome, with a displeasaunte counte-

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countenaunce passed by them. wherat they were not a lyttel abashed, and with hartes ful of a louing dreade and constant silence, they prepared theye eares to here attentifely what the Emperoure wolde saye: who after that he had longe beholden the people, at the laste with a graue countenaunce full of maiestie, he spake vnto them as hereafter foloweth.

The oration of the emperour Alexander to the people
of Rome. Cap. p. viii.



We wote not how to begynne to speke vnto you, for we knowe not by what name we shall call you. for if ye were Senators, we wold cal you fathers: if ye were gentylmen, we wold call you frendes: yf ye were as ye shulde be, good comuners, we wold call you good people of Rome, as we were woute to doo. But sens election hath not made you senators, nor nature gentylmen, nor your merites good comuners, we be in no lyttell doubt what we shall call you. for yf we shulde call you Romaynes, we feare lest Romulus, of whom proceded that name (if he be deified as ye do suppose) being therewith offended, wyl be aduenged as wel on vs as on you, for abusyng his glorious name on such peple, which goth about to dissolue this noble empire, destroy this citie, whiche he fyrste began with his moste excellent prowesse and wysedome, and that wars is (yf any thyng may be wars) extinct better the moste honourable and glorious fame of this citie and people thereof, whiche hath perced the cloudes, flowne ouer the hygh mountaynes, and passed the peryllous seas & large ryuers, runne throughe the great
desert.

desertes and wyldernes, and touched the further-
 moste boundes of the worlde. We wyl therfore omit
 to call you by any name, butyll we can fynde one mete
 and accorde vnto your merites. Verchance at our
 commynge, ye beholdynge our countenaunce towarde
 you moze strange than it hath ben, thoughte that we
 were meued with some priuate dyspleasure, for some
 thyng touchynge our person, or that we were altered
 from our late temperance, vnto a tyranny, conceyving
 suspition of our nature, by the remembraunce of that
 monster our late predecessor, forasmuche as we bothe
 came of one lynage, whiche I denye not. Truly, if
 this were your fantasie, we wyl soone acquitte our selfe
 therof, and set all your myndes at a moze lybertie. We
 wyl say this moche vnto you, as touchynge our per-
 sone and family, no man with wordes hath offended
 vs, no man hath taken aught from vs, no man (that
 we knowe) hath gone about to betray vs, nor there is
 any other thyng priuately done to our incommodie
 that hath dyspleased vs. And as for our accustomed
 maners, whiche dyd content you, we haue not, nor in-
 tend not to alter them. Tyranny, as we haue euer had
 it in extreme detestation, so do we nowe moze abhorre
 it. The corrupt nature of our predecessor had neuer
 place in vs. One gardeyn at one tyme byngeth for the
 bothe payson and holysome medycine. We see one wo-
 man, whiche by one man hath many children, of them
 some be fayre and personable, some ylle fauoured and
 crooked, some be wyse and apt vnto doctrine, other be
 fooles and dull wytted, one is couragious and hardy,
 an other is a dastarde and coward, this chylde is gen-
 tle and inclyned to vertue, the other is fierse & wrap-
 ped

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ped in vices. This is not a rare thyng, but in dayly experience. If this dyuersitie happeneth to be in one gardeyn, and in the generation of one father and also one mother: than may we wel escape the cause of your suspicion, we & Heliogabalus hauing dyuers fathers and dyuers mothers, and they as diuers in their conditions, as ye your selues can beare wytnesse, whiche haue knowen and sene proued the chaste luyng, sanctimony and prudence of our reuerend mother, and in what honesty and vertuous dyscipline she hath nourished vs, & brought vs vp, vnto the tyme that by god we were called vnto this dignitie. This oughte to be ynough, as wel to perswade you, that neyther anye thyng concernyng our selfe hath moued vs to displeasure towarde you, as also to exclude out of your myndes all suspicion of tyranny. Nowe shall ye know the very cause why we be discontented with you. For all though we sayd at the begynning, that ye went about to dissolue this empire, destroye this citie, and extingue the glorious fame therof, whiche is dede is the cause of our displeasure and heynnes, yet in those generall wordes, ye do not perceyue (I suppose) what we mean therby. Wherefore take good hede, and ye shall here it declared more specially.

Romulus after that he had buylded this citie, he by his diuine reason considered, and (as I doubt not) in the tyme of the buyldyng experience declared, that in a confuse multitude of people, they being of diuers wyttes and conditions, if order lacked, there mought not be a perpetual conorde, but by continuall variance and dyscorde, the people of necessitie shoulde be compelled either to abandon the citie, and destroye them

them selves to seke for sundry places to dwelle in, or abyding there in continual sedicion, shuld shortly and easily be subdued or dystroyed by their neyghbours dwelling about them. Wherefore he pssuyng of a gentyl and noble house, excellyng the resydue of the people in noble courage and fynesse of wyt, first deuysed and stablyshed this order, that the company, whiche he had assembled as well of theym, whiche he had brought with hym, as of those which he out of diuers partes had allured vnto hym, shulde generally be called Romaynes for euer: And that of theym shulde be thre states or degrees, euery one of them necessary for the weale publyke of his noble citie, in their sundry administrations, dueties, and exercises. To the first state he chafe out of the hole cōgregation one hundred of men auncient in yeres, which in moderation of luyng, sobrenes of maners, and sharpnes of wyt, were of the princypall personages of all that nōumbr, of theym he ordeyned and stablyshed a counsaile, whereby the affaires of the citie, and appendaunces therof shuld be ruled and minystred. And these counsailors for their age shulde be called Senatours, (for Senes in latyne are olde men) not withstandyng beynge saluted or spoken to, they shulde be named fathers. Also the college or company of theym was incorporate by the name of the senate. Moreover of this colledge, shulde be elected the great Judges and officers in the weale publyke, to whome shulde be committed the determination of Justyce, the execution of ceremonies and solemne sacrifices, and other authorities, whiche do belong vnto gouernance. Wherefore he wolde that in this state there shoulde be a maiestie, whiche of all

other men shulde be had in a syngular honour and reuerence. Semblably lyke as this state was ordeyned for counsaile and gouernance, so elected he out of the resydue, whiche were lusty in yeres, valyant and hardy, a greatter numbze, whome bycause in warres they shulde be on horsebacke, he callyd theym Equites, and the order he called Equestris, to them shoulde chiefly pertayne the defence of the citie agaynst the inuasion of ennemies, with other smal administrations, about the necessary prouisions and ornamente of this noble citie. And this state also wolde he haue honoured of the reste of the people, and to thintent that they shuld be knownen from other men, he assigned them to weare a ryng, and to beare in their handes iauelyns, wherof afterwarde they were called Quirites, whiche in the olde tynge of this countrey signified speare men. Of this state shulde be elected the Senatours, whan the iuste numbze of the Senate decayde. The thyrd state was of the base people or communers, to whom seruerally shuld not be comitted any authoritie, but shulde apply their occupations, and be redy to execute the statutes and ordynances made by the senate, also be obedient to the great officers, in that which pertayned by to the weale publike: Howeuer whan warres required that they shulde go forth, than to be obedient and diligent at the commaundement of their capptaynes and leaders. This order being stablyshed by Romulus, as long as in euery degree it was duly obserued, howe meruaylously dydde this citie prosper, ye howe wonderfully dyd a fewe Romayns in regarde, not only defende this lytell territoꝝ, agaynst the great numbze and puillance of dyuers and sundꝝ people, confedered.

dered agaynst them, but also beate them backe vnto their owne howses, entred into their citie, despoiled them of theyr substance: & also compelled them not only to desire perpetual peace, but mozeouer at the last to become theyr subiectes & tributaries. And whan this good order began to be broke, your state aspiring to gouernace & rule, where ye were ordeined to obey only: what yere can ye fynd clere from sedition and dyscorde amonge you: who can number the Romaynes, whiche haue ben slayne in the ciuile warres and commotions: who coulde without teares recite the dolorouse astate of this cite in the time of Cinna and Marcus, whome for disdain that ye had vnto the nobilitie, ye dyd eleuate vnto the highest dignities: By this your disorder came vnto the cite sundry calamities. Ye chace Caligula to be your Emperour, and where mought there be found a moze horrible tyrant: in the whiche name he so moche delyted, that lokynge in a glasse he wolde mozte diligently fourme his visage into the most terrible facion: Also in recompence of your kinde nesse, he wysshed that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that he moughte stryke it of at one stroke. I am ashamed to reherce my predecesour and kynseman Heliogabalus, the detestable vessel of abhominacion. But ye ought to be moze ashamed, that ye setting a part so great a numbre of honozable personages, as were than in the senate, for theyr experience wysdome and prowesse, worthy euery of them to be Emperours, chace the sayde Heliogabalus, a stranger borne, a boye in yeres, a foole in regarde of theyr wysdome, to be your soueraygne lord, who broughte you to the most vile subiection that any people were in the worlde: for

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is there any thyng in mankynde so byle, as to be vnder the condition of brute beastes? what beast can ye name that wyl suffre in his pzeence an other beast to occupie in the acte of generation her, whome he hath chosen for his make and companion: but to his power wyl resiste and fpyght with hym. Helioabalus helde you in suche captiuitie, that partely to auoyde his displeasure, partely to flatter hym and get somewhat of hym, ye not onely suffred hym to abuse your wyues & your chyliden, suche as beste lyked hym, but also increased your boydell houses, and with open eyes lette your wyues and your chyliden dayly and nyghtely to haunte them. And openly in the stretes (whiche I abhorre to reherce) to appzehende men, and prouoke the to lecherie. I omytte for the shorutenesse of tyme many suche other elections, whiche haue proceeded of your grosse and presumptuose wyttes, after that ye hadde transgressed the order, wherein Romulus left you, and exceded the termes of your offyce or duetie: whiche at the laste was perceyued by you (as I dydde suppose) whan ye beinge tediousse of that beastly licence, whiche that beast Helioabalus gaue freelye vnto you, had slayne hym, and toke me to be your emperour, although with all my power I refused that bourden, vntyll I was by the Senate and you constrayned to take it. And than desyred you me, to reduce the state of this citie vnto the fyrste order. wherabout I haue trauayled these eyght yeres, with not a lyttell payne, study and labours: begynnynge at myne owne household, to thintent that as well by the example of my seruantes and officers, ye and other being vnder my rule, mought the soner reforme your selues, as also that

that ye mought the better perceyue, and be lesse offendyd with my seueritie. And because I dyd se moche ill example procede of the Senate, also that ye were oppressed with the pride and corruption of iuges and officers, I vsing moche diligence weeded them out, and discharged them of theyr authoritties: ne they went not unpunished accoꝝdyng vnto theyr merites.

I purged also the state of gentylmen of ribauldes and riottours, and aduancing ther vnto other, I caused them to be dayly exercised in actes of prowesse, or elles to here lessons in such maner of doctrine, as thereby they mought acquire more wysedome, to be officers or counsaylours in the weale publyke. Onely the state of the people I dyd not visite, sauyng in punishment of theues, for as moche as I iuged that ye had leaste lybertie to do any great euill, beinge (as I sayde) oppressed with tyranny. And that those vices which were amonge you, lyke as they were taken by the example of your superiours, so trusted I, that by theyr punishmente, the sayde yll maners shuld be forsaken, and by the vertuous example of suche honest men as I haue put in theyr places, good maners shulde be as gladly imbraced. But now I perceyue all hath hapened contrary to myne expectation. for the sparinge of you, and the correction of my seruautes, with the sharpe reformation of the senate & gentylmen, hath broughte you vnto suche a presumption and arrogance, that ye contend to be equal with gentylmen, vsing no fourme of reuerence vnto them, eyther that ye thynke, that I feare more your puissance, than I fauour theyr honesties: or elles that your rychesse doo make you so pꝛoude, which ye abusyng in extessive vleries, ye ther
with

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with deuoure the patrimonies of many yonge gentylmen, and haue made them beggars, or by the seueritie of the auncient lawes of this citie, taken theym in bondage and slayne theym in irons. And by suche colourable rauine, ye haue bought great possessyons in Grecia, Sicile, and Spayne, wherby ye accumulate treasours and pleasures lyke to great prynces. If ye thynke me to be aserde of your puissaunce, your opinion is false. for aboue all thynges I mooste desyre to dye for the defence of the weale publyke of this noble citie: and in dede rather wyll I dye, than see the calamities whiche nedes muste ensue therunto, if order be not kepte, as I befoze haue declared.

At that worde all the people cryed with one voyce pouryng out teares from their eyes, A yue most noble and gracious emperour, he that wolde your death, let hym dy, let hym be rent into pieces, our puissaunce shall not annoye you, but vnto dethe shall defende you. ye haue restored vs vnto lyfe that were deed, vnto libertie that were in thraldom, vnto honour that were dishonoured. A yue vertuose emperour, and what lacke ye fynde in vs, refourme it, and we shal obey you, and he that wyll resyst or rebell, let hym be slayne and drawen with a hoke throughe the citie, and thzowen into Tyber. Ye be in gouernaunce our father, whome we chyevely wyllle honour. In age ye be our mooste derest sonne, whom moze thā our owne liues we do fauour. And than estesones they cryed, A yue mooste gentyl and ryghtwysse emperour.

Hereat the emperour relented, and with moch peyn retayned the teares of his eyes: And after that he had settled his spprites and countenaunce, he spake than vnto

unto them in this wyse: I am well contente that ye
haue declared, that there is yet in you some porcion of
vertue, whiche giveth me hope, that neyther the no-
ble renoume of this citie begonne by Romulus, and
augmented by other honourable gouvernours, nor my
labours in restoryng therof, whan it was decayd, and
lykely to perishe, shall falle into ruyne. But yf ye be
constant in this affection, I truste that ryght shortly
the publyke weale shall flourishe, and that this cytie
and people, shall be in as moche estymation as euer it
was in the tyme of any of our progenytours. And
nowe haue I founde agayne your olde name, wherby
I will calle you: Ye chylderne and successours of the
vertuous Romaynes, I say you most victorious peo-
ple, branches of Romulus, subduers of realmes, sam-
plers of vertue and prowesse to all the worlde, mity-
gate your couetous appetites, expel from you avarice
auaile your hygh courages, I meane in excedynge the
boundes of your popular state, and comparynge your
selves with your superiours, be charitable and mercy-
full to your owne countrey men, where their necessitie
may be relieued with your abundaunce. be you asha-
med, that peple of other countrys, people barbarous
and rude, shuld condemne you of crueltie, for destroy-
enge your gentlemen, the chiefe oznamment and defence
of this noble citie, that they shoulde reproche you of
rudenesse and pryde, in omittynge to doo reuerence to
them, whiche do in order excelle you. Remembze, that
lyke as if the state of senatours do decay, of the gentil
men are elected into the senate suche as be vertuouse:
so ye that shall be founde equal to them in vertue, (for
your substance onely can not make you gentylle) shall
R be

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be aduanced to the state of gentylmen accordyng to rayson. Than consyder yf ye wolde not than also require to be preferred in reuerence. Nothing shall moze cause a man wyllyngly to do his duetie, than to think what he wolde require of him that is inferiour vnto hym. And it hath ben sayde of wyse men, that he, whiche wolde be a ruler, shuld fyrst lerne to be a good subiecte. For truely a proude and couetous subiecte, shall neuer be a gentylle and temperate gouernour. Nowe haue I no moze to say to you, but applye your selves with good wylles to restore this citie to the auncient and mozte laudable order, as I shal endeuour my self by example and diligence to bypnye it eftsioones vnto his perfection.

Thus ended the emperours oration, and therewith he arose and departed, all the people poursuyng hym with this acclamation: The goddis immortall keepe and defend you most noble emperour. ye at the crown of our glozy, of our welthe and prosperitie: hated be he of goddis and of men that wolde you displeasure. Do what best lyketh you, the goddis immortall defende you.

The feneritie that the emperour Alexander vsed in chastyng syng as well the pryde of the people, as also his men of warre or souldiours. Ca. xxix.



AFTER that the emperour was returned home to his palayce, he decreed, that the sayde comuners shulde be depriued of their lybertie, and name of Romaynes, and to be deliuered as bondmen vnto the sayd gentylmen, with whome they presumptuously had

had contended, and so to remayne in that state, excepte they redeemed them selues by makynge the sayde gentylmen, in possessions and mouables, better than they theym selues were, whan they contended (for in dede the sayde comuners were verie ryche men, as welles in substance mouable as yerely renenues) that done, they shuld be eftsones restozed vnto their lybertie, ad- dyng therto, that it shuld not be lesfull vnto the sayde gentylmen, to infrachise them in any other condicion. Fynally the sayd comuners abhorryng seruitude, in continēt redeemed their heedes, accoꝝdyng to themp- cours decree: whiche exāple was found afterwarde so pꝛofytable to the weale publyke, in retaynyng the auncient oꝝder, and restraynyng sedition, whiche be- fore that tyme nowe and than happened, that it was thought of al men, that there was neuer decree oꝝ law made, that was moze benefyciall vnto the cytie. And the emperour was therfore not onely feared, but also moze honoured and loued of al the people, which were good citezens and chiefly fauoured the weale of their countrey.

Clyke seueritie he bled to all other states, as partly it is before reherfed, and partly I wyll nowe bryefely declare. He so herde the complayntes of souldiours ageynst their capitaynes, that yf he founde any capi- tayne in fault, he punished hym accoꝝdyng to the qua- litie of the act, without purpose to pardon hym. Lamprid.

Clyke austeritie he bled to them that serued hym in warres. For on a tyme whan he herd that one of them had done wꝛonge to a pooꝛe olde woman, he dischar- ged hym of his retayner, and gaue hym to the woman to be her bondman, that he being a carpenter, shoulde Lamprid.

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with his craft and labours relieue her. And whan the resydwes of the souldiours were therewith greued, he perswaded them to be therewith contented, and dydde put them in feare to grudge at it. Oftentymes he dyscharged hole legions, neuer fearyng his army, for as moche as neuer man coude reproue hym, that in his lyfe any captayne or petite capitayne toke or detayned any thyng of their souldiours wages. Whan he came to the citie of Antioche, his men of warre fell to wantonnesse, hauntinge womens baynes, and other riotous pastymes: whiche beinge brought to his eare, he caused them all to be apprehended and put in prison, whiche beinge knowen to them, whiche were of the fellowship of those that were taken, they began to make a commocion: Than the emperour wente to the place of iudgement, and caused the prisoners to be broughte before hym, the resydue of men of warre, standynge al armed about hym. And than began he in this wise.

Companiōs in armes (so that the actes of your felowes do discontente you) The discipline lefte to vs by our auncetours mainteyneth and kepeth the weale publyke, the whiche if it be let to decaye, we shall lose as well the name of Romaynes, as also the Empire. We maye not suffre thynges to be doone, whiche late were supported by that vncleane beast Heliogabalus. The Romayn souldiours your felowes, and my companions in warre, they haunte brothelles, tauernes, and baynes in the greke facion, and therto one prouoketh an other: shall I suffer this any lenger, and not stryke of theyr heades? Therewith arose a greate rumour and noyse in the people. Than sayde he againe: ye that be here, cry out whan it is necessary in bataille agaynst

agaynste your ennemies, not agaynst your emperour and soueraygne lord. I dare saye, your capytaynes taught you to vse those cries agaynste the Polones, Germanes, and Persians, not agaynste hym that hath gyuen to you meate, lyuerie, and wages. Ceasse therfore of your terrible cries, whiche onely be necessary in warre and batayle, lest that I with one mouth and one voyce dyscharge you Romaynes, and yet I doubt where I may so call you. For ye be not worthe to be of the people of Rome, yf ye knowe not the lawe of the Romaynes. And whan they cryed lowder, and also menaced hym with their weapons, he eftsoones sayd to them: Put downe your handes, whyche yf ye be valyant, ye shulde aduance agaynst your ennemies, for these thynges do make me nothyng aferde. And yf ye flee any man, the publyke weale, the senate, & people wyll not saye for to reuenge vs. But whanne they brauled & murmured neuer the later, he cryed to them with an hygh voyce, sayeng, Get you hens Romaines, and put of your harneys.

A wonderful exauple, they all puttyng of theyr harneys and souldyours cotes, departed euery man to his lodgyng. There was it perceyued howe moche his seueritie profyted. Thanne the emperours garde brought all the standerdes into the camp, and the people them selves brought all theyr armure to the emperours palayce. And the legion whiche he had discharged, after that he was sued vnto, xxx. dayes before he wente to warde Persia, he eftsoones restored into his place, and by theyr prowesse mooste specially, he afterwarde baynquished his enemyes. Not withstanding or he departed, he commaunded all the capitaynes of

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the sayde legion to be beheaded, bycause that throught
they; neglygence, the souldiours passed they; tyme ri-
otously in a place of excellent pleasure called Daph-
nis, and had made the sedicion, they wynkyng at it.

¶ Howe the Emperour Alexander reformed the Usury,
wherof he spake afore in his oration made to the
people. Capi. xxx.



ONE AFTER that Alexander had
chastised the pryde of the common peo-
ple of Rome, as before is rehearsed, he
hym selfe came into the Senate, and
there declared the sundry inconuenien-
ces, whiche had hapned, as wel to the
citie as vnto the countreyes ther vnto subiecte, by the
detestable practyse of vsury, whiche vtterly repugneth
agaynste all humanitie, charytie, and naturall bene-
uolence, that oughte to be amonge people that doo
lyue in a mutuall concoorde: but most specially among
them which lyue vnder one obedience, vnder one lawe
or polycpe. The inconueniences whiche hapened, he
shewed to be these. fyrste where the gentilmenne, and
the moze parte of men of warre, were from they; cra-
delles brought vp in idelnesse, beyng not instructed
in any occupation or science, saulfe only in feates per-
teynynge to warre, in the tyme of peace and tranquil-
litie, or whan the warres be not so great, that they re-
quire the hole pussaunce of Rome, than they whiche
be not sent forth to batayle, some do passe they; tyme
in daliaunce and bankettyng with wanton women,
or at dyse and other charginouse solasyng, or in bothe,
with the one and the other, shottely consumpyng they;
sub-

Substance: some do delyte in other excessive pleasures, as to haue great and beautiful houses, large and ample orchardes, and walkes inclosed with hyghe and stronge walles great pondes and meeres, conuaying therunto by a longe distaunce the salte water through rockes and mountaynes, and to haue in them dyuerse strange kyndes of fyshes. In the whiche entrepryses, they also haue not onely consumed theyr goodes and patrimony, but also the warke aboue theyr expectation, ferre exceedynge theyr power, they haue bene constrained to borrowe great sommes of moneye. Other there haue ben, which of an ambiciouse courage, haue vsed prodigall expenses as well in continuall feastes and bankettes, as in distributions of greate sommes of money amonge the people, and gyuyng great rewardes to corrupte Senatours and other great officers, to attayne befoze theyr tyme, or not being worthy to some hyghe place or dignitie: wherby, they beinge broughte into pouertie, haue ben also constrained to seeke helpe of other, to maynteyne theyr folow. All these personnes howe vnprofytable they be vnto the weale publyke, repoynte me vnto you, specially if ye consider also, that whan they haue borrowed so moche, and the somes borrowed being so increased by vsury, that they be not only in desperation to borrowe any moze of their creditours, but also in the state to be greuously punished accordynge to the lawes: than desyre they some alteration in the weale publyke, than fynde they oute the ambiciouse courages of them which are in auctoritie, and betwene whom of the noble men is enuy dayn or pryuate displeasure, than seke they matter of sedition within the cite, which not being wisely repressed, hath

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hath at his backe diuision of pottes, ciuyle commoci-
ons, often tymes battayle and destruction of people.
Reade the histories of Rome, and see howe often they
called for newe tables, that is to saye, that the instru-
mentes and obligations made for dette, shuld be can-
celled, and those dettes acquyted: and vntyll it was
done the commotion ceased not. Nowe se ye, that the
chiefe cause of this inconuenience, was the sayde pe-
stilent practise of vsury, whiche as the occuppers dyd
se the wantonnesse and prodygallitie of the nobyltie,
gentylmen, and other increace, so dyd they augmente
it, moze esteemyng thei? propre lucre than the weale
publyke, charitie, beneuolence, or natural humanitie.
Wherfoze in my iugement suche vsurars amonge the
Romayns ought not to be numbred, but if they be not
wyllyngely reformed, they shoulde be taken and vled
as perniciousse ennemies vnto vs all.

¶ Here all the Senate, except a fewe, with one voice
commended the zelouse intente of the Emperour, and
offered thei? consentes in makynge suche a lawe as
shulde seme to the Emperour and them expedient, vn-
to the redressse of so great an enormitie. Than one Ca-
telius a noble Senatour, and a man of great vertue,
sayde in this wyse.

The sens-
ence of
Catellius.

¶ Myne opinion is noble Emperour and reuerende
fathers, that no kynde of vsury shal be here practised
within this citie, but fyrste I wold that serche be made
diligentlye, howe many Romaynes, and who they be,
whiche are entred into bondes, for the payment of v-
sury, and likewise who be the creditours, and the prin-
cipall det being knowen: the creditours to be compel-
led by an edict of your maiesty, to holde them content
with

with repayment of the summe or value of the thyng
that they lende. And than by an ordynance of this
counsaile, the sayde principall dettes to be payd oute
of the treasure of the citie, the dettours byngng in
pawne or suretie to repaye it within fyue yeres vnto
the tresozers. Also that no man shall lende moneye
or any thyng els, whiche the dettour shalbe constray-
ned to change into money to serue his comoditie, vp-
pon any condition bargayne or promyse to haue lucre
by the sayde lone. And if that he do, all his mouables
to be immediately forsafted to the commune tresor.
Moreouer, that yf any Romane shall happen to be in
necessitie, by any mysfortune or casualtie, or by neces-
sary charges, which he coulde not escape, that he shuld
come to the prouosts of the citie and tresozers, byn-
gng with hym one senatour and two of the people,
men not suspected of infamye, whiche shall sweare by
the goddis preseruators of the citie of Rome, that
they knowe, that the necessitie doth not procede of the
sayde yll occasions: That done, he shall lay in his suf-
ficient pawne, or byngng in two hable persones to vn-
dertake for the repayment of the money, which he wyl
borowe, the tresozers shall delpuer so moche to hym,
as to the prouost and them shall seme to be sufficient
for his necessitie. And yf any other man wyl beneuo-
lently lende them that, which they wyl desyre, without
practyse of vsury, yf the borrower hathe consumed his
goodes in such folly as before is declared, that than he
shall not be charged with the repayment of that that
he borrowed, but that the creditour be clerely excluded
from thensforth, to haue for his sayde lone any maner
of remedy. But if constraynt or mysfortune do cause
S the

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the necessitie, and any man lende to an other for a beneuolent charitie, without any colour of vsury: than yf the dettour neglect the repayment therof, and wylfully let the day passe whan it ought to be payd, than he without mercy to sustayne the rygour of the common lawes of the citie. And so this lawe being well executed and neuer omptted, we shall neither haue vsurour dwell in this citie, nor gentylmenne landlesse, nor persones sedicious, whiche shall be able to annoye the vniuersall weale publyke. Nowe ye haue herde myne opinion, wherto ye may adde or make some thing lesse as it shall seme best to your excellent wysedomes.

Than the emperour despyed Gordian an auncient senatour, who is named before, to shewe his opinyon, and he rysen out of his place, pausynge a lyttell, sayde in this wyse.

The sens
sence of
Gordiane

I lerned whan I was yonge, noble emperour and fathers, that he whyche shall gyue counsaile, specially to the makynge of lawes, ought to consyder foure thynges, That his counsaile be honest, that it be necessary, profitable, and possible. Thre of them haue be remembred by Catellius Seuerus, the fourthe it semeth that he had forgotten. I do well agree that the thyng that he wolde haue done is charitable, and therfore is honest, also that it is necessary to repressse the ryottouse and prodygall luyunge of gentylmen: it is profitable vnto the weale publyke, to haue all occasions of sedition, & sedes of warre ciuile to be extirpate. And truly no better deuise may be founde than Catellius, accordyng to his great lernyng and wysedome, hath ryght well declared. But let vs see, yf the reliefe appoynted by Catellius, for the whom he nameth worthy to haue it,

it, shall be alway certayn and possible. And if not, thā
 must we in stede therof, fynde somme other prouysion
 moze certayne, though it be not so easy, that good men
 in theyr vntwyllyng necessitie be not disappoynted. Is
 it possible toowe pe, that the cōmon treasure shal be al-
 way abundant, that is to say, able to furnyshe al thin-
 ges necessary for the weale publyke, & in the ouerplus
 to be also sufficiēt to releue the said priuate necessities?
 Consyder the greatnes of this noble empire, the great
 numbze of realmes, countreyes, and cities, whom the
 prowesse of our noble auncetours, haue by force con-
 strayned to be subiecte vnto vs, and by force we kepe
 and retayne them. Thynke you, that they all wyl euer
 remayne in peace and tranquillitie? Do you not know
 that all lyupng thynges desyre lybertie, and mankind
 most specially? Remember you not, that wyl constrain-
 ned seketh euer oportunitie to slpype of his colar? For-
 gette you, that almoste yesterdaye the Moores began
 to rebelle, and had shaken of their yoke, had they not
 bene quickly repelled by **Furius Celsus**? Also the
 great countrey of **Illiria**, frome whens we haue our
 chiefe men of warre, made late a commocion, whyche
 had ben no smal daunger and losse to this empire, had
 they not ben valiantly and wisely pacified & brought
 in good order, by the noble capitayne **Varus Macri-**
nus, kynsman vnto your maiestie mooste noble empe-
 rour. **Armenia** was in peryll to be losse, if it hadde not
 ben well defended by the prowesse of **Iunius Valina-**
tus. And it is douted of some, whether the **Germainys**
 wyl contynue the leage that they made with vs. It is
 prauily muttered amonge the people, that **Artaxerxes**
 kyng of **Persia**, dothe gather moche people and trea-
 sure

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sure, intendyng not onely to subdue all Armenia, but also the hole countrey of Asia, vnto the see of Propontis, whiche deuydeth Asia from Europa, claymyng it in the auncient right of the kynges of Persia. What other people wyll do, we be vncertayn: As vncertayn be we, what treasure wyll be sufficient to furnyshe all thynges necessary agaynst those perylls. Ye we be not so sure of our prouinces & auncient dominions, from whens we haue our yerye reuenues, penyons, and tributes, but yf other rebell and pꝛeuayle agaynst vs, (whiche the goddis forbode) puillance faylyng vs, and good fortune forsakyng vs, it is to be supposed, that they wyll rather pay nothyng than ought, be also gouerned rather by their owne countrey men, than by vs that be straungers. Than what haue we lefte vs to kepe this noble citie, to defende vs, our chylde, our wyues, the temples and aulters of goddis immortal, yf our common treasure be not ryche and abundant, wherewith we maye gette succours in some place, prouyde vitayles sufficient, and strongly fortify our munitions & fortresses? Also we be not sure, where warre shall assaile vs, eyther by lande or by see, if it happen to be by the lande, yet knowe we not whither it shall be in dyuers countreys or one. yf in sundry countreys, than must we haue dyuers armies, and dyuers prouisions, accordyng as the state of the countreys requirereth, some beinge feruently hotte, some excedyng in colde, the one full of mountaynes vnapt for carpage, the other thicke of wodes: this lackyng freshe water, that drowned in fennes. If it be on the water, than be the charges greater and moche moze vncertayn, shippes with their takelynge and ordynaunce aboue all other

other thynges beinge moſte coſtly, and oftentymes of
their enneimies mete theyn, they be eyther deuoured
with ſtozmes, or by contrarie wyndes conſtrayned to
runne on quypke ſandes or rockes. wherfoze we muſt
alway haue a great numbꝛe of ſhyppes in makynge,
and a greatte noubꝛe of perſonnes retayned to ſur-
vyſhe them. I wyll not omitt the moſte neceſſary pro-
uiſion of grayne foꝛ this cytie, whiche oftentymes by
ſcarſitie in the countrais adioyning vnto vs, we haue
ben cōpelled to make in coūtreys far diſtant from vs
at very high pꝛices, which if the like neceſſitie happen
vnto vs, vndoubtedly it wil exhaust wōderfull treſozs.
Theſe thynges conſydered, it ſhall ſeeme (I doubt
not) expedient, that the common treaſure remayne al-
waye vntouchēd, but only foꝛ commune neceſſitie, the
incertapntie wherof pꝛoueth it impoſſible, that the cō-
mon treaſure ſhall be euer ſufficient to releue the pry-
uate neceſſitie of them that are ſpoken of, ſenſe miſfoꝛ-
tune, and other conſtrayned meanes vnto pouertye,
ſhall euery daye happen to ſome man. wherfoze nowe
let vs deuoyſe a moze certayne pꝛouiſion. And trewely
fewe men haue ſo moche compaſſion and charitie (the
moze pitie is it) that they wyll lende theyꝛ goodes to
an other man, haue they neuer ſo moche, excepte ther-
by may retourne to them ſome aduauntage or pꝛofite.
And to conſtrayne them to lende (except it were foꝛ de-
fence of the weale publyke) it were agaynſte iuſtice.
wherfoze fynally this is my ſentence, lette a certayne
gayne be lyꝛmitted by the Emperours maiestie, which
beinge thoughte by vs tollerable to the boꝛower, and
competently ſufficient vnto the creditour, let it be de-
clared by the Trybunes vnto the people, with the re-
ſidue.

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fydue, whiche was indifferently and wylfully deuised by
 Catellius Seuerus. And I doubt not, but that it wil
 lyghtly passe and be inacted by all theyr voyces.
 ¶ This oration and sentence of Gordiane was well
 commended, as well of the emperour, as of all the se-
 nate. In conclusion, after a lyttell debatynge, it was
 appoynted by the emperour, that the creditours shuld
 haue for the forbearynge of euery Sestertium (which in
 englysh money of olde grotes, wherof. viii. made an
 ounce, amounteth to. iiii. li. xvi. s. viii. d.) for euery
 daye lone, the thyrde parte of As called Triens, (which
 was the thyrde parte of an olde Romayne peny called
 in latyne Denarius, whiche was the payse of an old en-
 glyshe grote, and so the vsury for the hole yere amoun-
 ted in Romaine money to. xii. pence one As and. ii. Tri-
 entes, in accompte of Englyshe money. xii. grotes, the
 tenth parte of a grote, and two partes of a tenth part
 deuyded in thre partes. whiche somme moughte be
 moze easely cumpted by the Romayns, which had the
 sayde small money Trientes copened, thanne by vs that
 haue no suche money. Not withstandynge for as mo-
 che as it well appereth, that the gayne by the lone of
 one hundred poundes sterlynge by the hool yere, a-
 mounted not by this rekenyng but to. iiii. li. xii. d. and
 the thyrde part of a grote or there about, comptyng by
 the olde grotes, wherof wente but. viii. to the ounce,
 of the money currante, wherof do go. xi. grotes to the
 ounce, the vsury amounteth to. v. li. x. s. vii. d. ob. or
 there aboute, whiche wyl seme to all men, not beinge
 vsurers, to be a gayne sufficient and reasonable. But
 nowe to retourne to our matter. This sentence of the
 Emperour and Senate beinge declared by the Tri-
 bunes

bunes, as it was appoynted, all the people with most
 to youse spirites, and as loude as they could crye, con-
 sented that it shulde be made a lawe perpetual in eue-
 ry poynte, accordyng as the Emperour and Senate
 before had deuised it. wherupon incontinente the acte
 was drawen and publyshed as hereafter foloweth.

The lawe concernynge vsurie made by the Emperour, Senate
 and people of Rome. Cap. xxi.



O NECESSITIE be considered frome
 henceforth in them that consume theyr
 substance in displayinge, outragious
 expenses, or lechery: who so euer lenderth
 to them, let it be at his ieopardy and with-
 out hope of remedy.

To whom fortune peruerse, longe syckenesse, seruyce,
 frendeshyppe, disloyaltie of them that he trusted, the-
 ues or oppressours haue broughte vnto pouertie, to
 hym let men extende theyr compassion and charitie: or
 if his necessitie do constrayne hym to borrowe, let hym
 come to the prouoste of the citie, and declare his neces-
 sitie, and wherof it proceded, haupnge with hym one
 senatour and two of the comuners, persons well kno-
 wen and credible, which being deposed, that his wo-
 des be true and vnfeyned, and what they suppose shall
 be sufficient to releue his necessitie, the prouoste shall
 assigne one riche man of the citie, if the partie hym self
 name not a nother, to whom or to hym that is named,
 the prouoste shall directe his letter in the name of the
 Senate and people, wplynge hym to deliuer to the
 sayde persone, the somme that he nedeth, takynge of
 hym sufficient suretie for the repayment of the somme
 that

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that he lente, with the increase for every daye sparinge of one Sestertium, xii. Romaine pence, one As, and, ii. Trientes, and so after that rate in all other sommes aboue the somme of Sestertium, and not to excede that gayne in any maner condicion.

He that refuseth to lende for this gayne, let hym as vnwoorthy the name of a Romaine, or to take any benefyte by the weale publyke, be of the Censores depriued of the name of a citezen, & noted for ever with the crime of ingratitude. This lawe decreed by the Senate, enacted by the people, confirmed by the imperial maiestie, be for ever established, and neuer by any other lawe, custome, or ordynance to be abolyshed. And who that with violence resisteth agaynst it, let him be taken for rebell and ennemy vnto the weale publike.

What loue and beneuolence the emperor shewed to the people of Rome, and of other his wonderfull vertues. Cap. xxxii.

WE HAVE HERDE moche declared of the vertuous seueritie or sharpenes of this noble Emperour Alexander, nowe shall you here as moche of his gentylnesse, patience, and affabilitie. After that the sayde acte was proclaymed throughout Rome and Italy, the emperour callynge to his remembraunce, that the sayde lawe was made onely for them whiche hereafter shoulde be constrained to borrowe, and that there were many at that tyme in daunger, whom by that acte shulde take noo benefyte, he beinge moued with pitie, caused sodaynly serche to be made by the Censores, howe many were in the daunger of vsury. And than sente he for all the vsurers, and after that he had a lyttell blamed theym for

for they; auarice and ingratitude towarde their coun-
tre, at the laste alterynge his countenaunce & speche
vnto a moze myldenesse, he despyred them al at his con-
templation, to take for that tyme they; pynncipal soun-
that was bozowed, and clerely to remytte all the resy-
due, promysynge, that the money shoulde be payed to
them out of his treasure. Whiche requeste of the Em-
perour was pronounced in so gentyl a facion, that the
creditours with one voyce not only graunted vnto it,
but also promysed to remitte part by his arbitrament,
where he thought conuenient. whiche the Emperour
moste thankfully takynge, gaue the creditours leaue
to departe, commaundyng them to kepe the thyng
secrete, vntyll they knewe moze of his pleasure.

Than commanded he, that all such as were runne
in the daunger of vsury, shoulde be warned to come be-
foze hym, not at one day or tyme, but sych as they which
were reputed and known to be men of honestie, and
by some mysadventure were brought vnto pouertie.
And beinge trewely certified what goodes or landes
they had in possession, he remembred to them what pe-
ryll they were in, and lamented the state of the cite, that
the gentylmenne, by negligence or lacke of good hus-
bandry, shoulde be in bondage and captiuitie vnto the
communers, whiche ought to be inferiours to theym,
and doo to them reuerence. O sayde he, where is the
noble courage of Romulus progeny, who foloweth
Quincium, Publicolan, Curium, Fabritium, noble
Senatours; whiche after that they hadde baynquy-
shed princis, and achieved sundry great victories, ben
dyuerse tymes Consules and Dictatours, the highest
dignities within this cite, they lyued soo moderately,
that

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that rather thanne they wolde be subiectes to the auarice of other, they chace to lyue in poore howses of husbandy out of the citie, with a pottle full of wytes, and suche a small pitaunce for them and theyr wyues, as nowe our seruantes wolde disdayne to be fedde with. And lesse abundaunce at any tyme, shulde prouoke them to lyue more delycately, they refused not onely great summes of money sent to them by straungers, but also possessions offered them by the Senate and people, for theyr indeuour and labours about the weale publyke. Thus I saye vnto you, whome althoughe mysaduenture, or charges inforced, haue exhauiste some or the more parte of your substance or patrimony, yet haue ye not therfore abated your dyete, nor absteyned from pleasures, nor mynished your family: but without vsyng good husbandy, and without circumspection, haue contrary to the sayd honorable Senatours, chosen rather to spende your olde age in misery, and to be in bondage vnto your inferiours, thanne ye wolde reayne in captiuitie your wanton appetites.

But here whan the Emperour perceyued that they were ashamed and made heuy countenance, than said he vnto them: wold ye not gladly be estones at libertie, at the leaste way out of the danger of vsure? They with a voyte mooste lamentable answered: Ye noble Emperour. wyl ye sayde he, with good wyl paye to your creditours the princypall duetie, haupnge tyme conuenient that it maye be leuied of your possessions, haupnge left vnto you some portion to lyue on. They answered: ye noble pryncce, elles were we unhappye. Not withstandynge amonge them were some, and not many

many, whiche had not leste eyther goodes or possessions to paye the hole duetie. Than the emperour withdrew hym into his chamber, and caused them severally to be brought vnto hym one after an other. and according to their substance in possessions or mouables, he rated them to paye of the principall dette, some all, some more and some lesse. And bycause they had not the money than redy, he promysing to discharge them of the sayd payementes by theyr consentes, assigned to them, whiche had possessions, two partes therof, and the thyrde parte he reserved to hym selfe, vntyll the summe were therof receyued, wherto they were rated. Of theym that had goodes and no possessions, he appointed that the summe, wherevnto they were rated, shuld be valued in theyr sayd mouables by theyr own frendes, and be brought vnto some place, where by the Emperours officers it shuld be receyued. And ere they departed, he caused in theyr presence, every summe to be severally tolde out of his cofers. And than sente he for all the creditours, and puttynge them in remembrance of theyr gentyll promyse made vnto hym, and declaringe also what he hadde done, he caused euery mannes portion accordynge to the sayde rate to be deliuered vnto them. And for them whiche had neyther good nor possessions, he payed halfe of the principall dette out of his owne cofers, with a clere acquitaunce vnto the partie. And commaundyng the creditours, to bringe to hym cancelled the obligations and instrumentes belongynge to the sayde dueties, and gyuing to them hartly thanks, he let them departe.

¶ Semblably perswadyng the dettours to frugalitye or moderate lyuynge, he also prayed them to forsee

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as moche as they coulde that wylfully they committe
not theym selves to the hasardes of fortune. he than
imbracynge theym all, badde theym farewelle. who
grypyng to hym inost humble thankes, and for ioye
pourynge oute aboundaunce of teares, departed with
gladde tpynges home to theyr houses. As for them,
whiche at dyse playinge, in riote and lecherie, had con-
summed theyr substance, he if any were lefte, caused it
to be valewed, as well possessions as mouables, and
to be diuided amonge theyr creditours, accordynge to
the quantitie of the true dette: And in satisfaction of
the remnaunte, he adiuged them bonde: soo that for a
certayne tyme as the Emperour wold appoynt him,
haupnge regarde to the dette, he shulde serue one cre-
ditour, and afterwarde an other, in most vile seruy-
ces, recepyng therfore nothyng, but onely meate
drynke and clothyng, belongynge to slaues. And that
the creditours shulde haue ouer them equally as mo-
che authoritie as they had ouer them whiche they had
bought or taken in batayle. Not withstanding it was
at the libertie of the creditours, to aquite them of their
seruice, but not to infraunchyse them, untill the tyme
were expired, whiche was by the emperour appointed:
but durynge that tyme, they were continually the ha-
bite or apparayle assigned to bondemen, ne were este-
med for Romaynes, nor enjoyed any pryuylege. If
they obediently serued and contented theyr creditours,
at the ende of the terme, whiche the emperour appoin-
ted, they were set at lybertie, and restored to their fyrst
estate and condition. But if they fledde frome theyr
master, or contemptuously withstode his commande-
mentes, fightyng with hym, or doing to hym any nota-
ble

ble iniurie, they were condemned to perpetual seruitude during theyr liues. They which had left nothing to pay their creditours, to them he appointed a longer captiuitie, esteeming the value of his seruice as well to the facultie of the persone as to his estate and condition. As if he were very wyttie, well lerned, or a perfect artificer, by reason wherof his seruice moughte seme very commodious or profitable. Also beinge a gentylman, the more estimation that he were of, the more greuous and odious to hym shoulde be his seruice and punishment: wherfore to the one and the other, lasse tyme was thought to be sufficient, than to them whiche were of grosse wytte, or ignorant of good occupation, or els base or vyle of condition.

This ordynance beinge put in due execution, It was thought at the fyrst of some men to be very cruel, but after that it was ones perceyued, what a merueylous frugalitie or temperance of lyving, was suddenly founde, as wel in the cite of Rome, as also throughout all Italy. Also what delyte menne toke to be seene them selues moderate in apparayle, honest in lyving, also exercysinge them selues in pastymes convenient, not dishonest or chargeous. Also to haue them in derision, whom they founde in any maner of wise attempting the contrary. Then extolled they the excellent wytte and vertue of the mooste noble emperour. And where afore they called him cruel and tyrannous, they ceased not to name hym equal to the goddis, moost benygne and mooste gracious, confessyng that hadde not ben his seueritie, they al with the cite and empyre had utterly perished.

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Of the circumspect curiositie of the emperor Alexander
in admittynge counsaylours. And of his answers
touchynge that matter. Cap. xxxiii.



HE INCOMPARABLE diligence of this noble emperor about the weale publyke, is to be meruayled at, and of all princis to be obserued and folowed. For what by his owne trauayle and excellent prudence, what by his continual scrutiny by wise and honest espialles, he assuredly knewe the qualities, maners, and appetites of al men (except very fewe) dwellyng in Rome or Italy, which either by reason of their possessions or substance, or for any other estimation amonge their neyghbours, were lykely to be called to some authoritie. Also of all those, whiche in other regions and prouynces, were for some cause notable or famous. This knowledge caused hym to be circumspecte in admittynge counsaylours and other great officers. As among many examples I wyl declare one, wherof I my selfe can beare wytnesse.

After the deathe of Quintilius Marcellus, a man in great authorite about the emperor, as he was wel worthy for his syngular wysedome and vertue (in so moche as it was thought, that there was neuer a better man bove in Rome, and therfore the emperor dyd extrensely lament his deathe) the noble man Frontine, whom also the emperor entierly loued, awayting his tyme, aduauanced to hym with a commendable report an honourable personage, who was named Fabius Maxtinus, to be in the place of Marcellus. After that the emperor had herd and wel considered the wordes of Frontinus, wherby was set forth the ancient stocke from

from whens Fabius descended, his greate possessions and substance, the grauite of his personage, his great experience in sundry auctorities: the emperour dydde caste on frontine a dyspleasant countenaunce, and after that he ceassed to speake, the emperour made answer in this wyse.

Howe moche hath your iudgemente deceyued vs frontine: howe could ye this longe dissemble with vs: I had thought that ye had euer esteemed the stocke by the fruite, and not the fruite by the stocke. No man commendeth the boughes or bryanches, because the stemme of the tree is great, longe, or streighte: but ye thep be well spreadyng, thicke of grene leaues, & well sette with good fruite, than men saye that tree hath a fayre toppe, that tree bereth good fruit. And although the tree be neuer so misshapen or croked, the owner wyl digge about it, and vse al diligence for to preserve it: but ye the stocke be neuer so fayre, if the boughes be rotten or seate, the owner wyl myde them, & throw them into the fyre. If the fruite be vnsauery or withered, who taketh any great hede of the tree: who wyl gather the fruite: but rather let them rotte on the tree or fall downe, for he careth not for them. Who loveth rotten groundspill or poste, because that it was part of an auncient house: who setteth by a ragged a resty or yll favoured colce, because that the harreple, whereof that hynde is comen two hundred yeres passed, was the price of runnyng at the game of Olympus: I confesse, that long continuance in any thing that is good addeth an admiration, but no prayse to the thyng: all be it the thyng founden good, prayseth the contynuaunce or longe enduryng therof. A good chylde rene-
weth

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with and also augmenteth the prayse of his parentes:
 the yll chylde caseth out of mennes hartes the fathers
 honour and benefytes. Also great possessions oꝝ sub-
 stance, maketh vertue suspected, bycause they be in-
 tysters of pleasaunt affections, and also nouryces of
 wanton appetites. Moreouer the grauitie of the per-
 sonage is not proued by stately countenaunce oꝝ dy-
 daynfull sylence, but by constance in vertue, and woꝝ-
 des alway apte foꝝ the tyme and purpose. And experi-
 ence, whiche is not comended by laudable actes, doth
 deserue no moze prayses, than the gate of a blynd hoꝝs
 aboute a wyde hoꝝsemyll, whiche gryndeth no corne.
 And that olde capitayn, whiche in many batayles and
 iourneys hath ben founde alway negligent, deserueth
 no garlande. Many authorities do requyre an exqui-
 site tryall, foꝝasmoch as authoritie doth abate feare, &
 minister boldnes, boldnesse byaweth in licence, licence
 is mother of myschiefe, whiche nedes must be suffred
 vntyll fauour relenteth. These thynges consydered
 Frontinus, eyther your iudgement is not so perfecte
 as I wold haue taken it to be, oꝝ els ye secretly win-
 kyng at the sayd faultes, haue dissembled longe with
 me, and kepte thynges from my knowlege, contrary
 to your allegiaunce and duetie.

With these wordes frontinus bringe aserde, kne-
 led downe, and besought the emperour to pardon him
 of his folie, confessyng that he had not perfyte know-
 lege of the dispositiō and maners of the said fabius.
 but foꝝasmoch as he had ben fauourable toward him
 and his frendes in his ministrations, he mutually de-
 spised his aduauncement.

Thereat smyled the emperour and sayde: Shalt
 this

this plague neuer ceasse, which in royalmes and cities hath so longe raigned: that mutual beneficence blyn-
deth mens iudgementes. And whyles power with pleasures getteth great acquaintaunce, vertue is vnknown, and in the courte frendles. I knowe, Frontinus, that pryde in Fabius Maximus is a domestical vice. For in all the house of Fabius it hath ben exceedingly noted, and in some hystories remembred. And in this man as well the remembraunce of his auncient nobilitie, as his long continuance in authoritie, hath more increased it, as I my selfe haue marked, and also herd other murmurynge at it, whan I haue secretly walked in the cytie in a pryuate apparaple. Wherefore I wyll not that he be in our counsaile nor palayce, that either his pryde shulde be of yonge men folowed, or of olde men dysdayned, or of vs suspected. His greatte possessions & ryches declareth, that he can not be with a lyttell contented, sens the more parte therof he hath gathered vnder the colour of his authorities, beinge not lefte vnto hym by his owne parentes, nor receiued of our lyberalitie, nor by the gyfte of our pcedecessors. And very seldome where honour increceth auarice abateth. I hate not Fabius in the state that he nowe is, although I fauour not in him the said notable vices: but if he were nerer vnto vs. we coulde neyther synne them, nor suffre hym unpunysched, yf he than bled them. Also in his longe experience I neuer herde hym for iustye commended: but I haue herde his arrogance, his longe delapeng of suiters, and his parcialitie, of many dyspraysed. Cruely such a man is neither mete to be a nigh counsaillour, nor to say the truthe in any great office. These thynges considered Frontinus;

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tinus, speake no moze of hym, but serche for some other, in whome synceritie and temperaunce be loyned with wysedome. Suche one, yf he be of an auncient house, shall bynge to our palayce an honourable remembraunce of his noble progenitours, and as wel to noble as vnnoble shalbe an excellent patern or president. If he be but late come to worshyppe, his advancement shall ingender in noble men an honest enuy, eyther to excede hym in vertue, or at the leste to be iudged equall vnto hym. to pooze men it shall be an allectife and roote of good hope, that they be in the ranke, where the rewarde of vertue is dealyd.

¶ And thus cessed theemperour to speake. And frontinus departed, being both ashamed of his enterpryse, and abashed at the wysedome of his noble master.

¶ The moste noble answere of Alexander made to Aspessus, concerninge the dysabseyne of Sextilius Rufus in his absence. Cap. xxxiii.

Lapidius



THE EMPEROVR hadde a custome which was very commendable, that he neuer made any senatour, without the counsaile of the hole senate, and euery senatour shuld gyue his sentence, also testunony of his luyng, & credence shuld be brought in by honorable personages. But yf eyther the senatours that spake, or the witnesses were fowden to haue spoke vnturly, they were reiected into the lowest place of estimation among the people, being also cōdemned as decepuets or forgers, without hope of remysion.

¶ There was dwellyng in a village by Rome a gentylman called Sextilius Rufus, whiche was ryghte well

well lerned in all partes of philosophy, and also in the sciences lyberall. But forasmoch as he considered the frequent alteration of the weale publyke, with the manyfolde peryles & troubles in the administration thereof, he of purpose withdrew hym therfro as moche as he mought, although his father had bene a senatour in his lyfe, and he amonge his neyghbours and dyuers of the nobilitie was had in good reputation. Not withstandyng for the causes before reherfed, and that he despyed nothyng so moche as quietnesse of mynde, and to solace hym selfe in the moste pleasaunt herbar of science, and bysityng the moste dylectable workes of auncient wyters, he seldom came to the emperours court, or resorted to playes or bankettes, ne dyd come to salute the great offycers nor men in authoritie, as the vse was at that tyme. And amonge the yonge galantes he was not beloued, bycause he fauoured not theyr ryottous pastymes. And the men of lawe hadde hym in dysdayne, bycause he repugned agaynst their subtyll gloses, and blamed their auarice. Finally he being fully content with the golden mean, liued right honestly in a manour, whiche he had competently furnished with possessions sufficient for the prouysyon of his meane household, whiche was to his neyghbours more bounteous than sumptuous.

¶ After that the emperour had purged his palayce and the senate of unworthy persons, corrupted with detestable vices, and with moche difficultie founde o-ther to set in their places: It hapned, that some good man named to hym Sertilius Rufus, declaringe the common report, whiche he had herde of hym. The emperour, who knew all to be true that was spoken, held

At it

his

his peace not withstanding, harkenynge what shulde be other mens sentences. The moze parte of theyn, whiche were present, assyned, that Rufus for his honeste wysedome and letynge was mete to be of the senate, but thre or foure sayd nothynge. At the laste Alphenus a great lawyer, and in good estimation, with the Emperour, objected, sayeng, that Rufus not withstanding that he was lerned in dyuers sciences, yet was he neyther profoundly lerned in the lawes ciuile, nor moche experienced in affayres of the empire. And that his lyttell hus bandy and small prouision about the increace of his lyuinge, declared hym to be a man of no great polycie, nor of any dexteritie about thynges of importance. And that the aptitude of his nature, was only in studious meditation of sundry sciences, and in wytyng moze than in doing. Addynge to that philosophers were neuer good practysers in a weale publyke, nor yet good men of warre. Wherfore in as moche as he that is a senatour, not only oughte to be a man mete for polytike gouernance, as wel in guyng counsaile in matters therto pertaynyng, as also beinge chosen to be Pretor, or to any other mynistracion of Justyce, not to be ignoraunt in guyng iudgement in causes brought before hym: but also he oughte to haue some experience in marciall affayres, that beinge chosen consul, or leader of the hoste of the Romaynes, he mought se the men of warre to be well instructed and exercysed. And that in all thynges belonging to warre, the state of the cite be sufficiently furnished. Moreouer, that in battaile ioyned eyther by his ignorance or basenes of courage, the Romayn army be not dystroyed. These thynges considered, it seemed

seemed to him, that it was not expedient to receive Rufus into the number of Senatours.

The emperor hearing Alphenus, and beholding that no man proffered to speake after hym, except thre or foure mo, whiche were lawyers, and one Onnius Camillus a noble man, who had some displeasure towards Rufus for one of his seruantes: these seemed by their countenaunces to approue the saying of Alphenus. That perceyving the emperor, he lookinge on Alphenus spake in maner as hereafter foloweth.

I see well Alphenus, that not onely the vulgare and vlettered people be angrely stered and do retain displeasure agaynst them, whiche withoute malice, do rebuke in a generaltie the vices and faultes, which be founden amonge them: but also (whiche I doo lament) men specially chosen for theyr wisdom and learninge, do disdain them that rebuke the abuse of that study or exercise, whiche these wise men most chieflie haue haunted. I knowe that Sertilius in one of his booke hath sharply noted the detrimente doone vnto iustice by couetouse lawyers, whiche by theyr subtil wittes haue inuolued the lawes civile into suche obscure and ambiguous sentences, that noo man without theyr declarations, may knowe howe to do or minister iustice in cases, for the whiche the sayde lawes haue provided. Nor they that make lawes can expound them afterwarde without a lawier, whiche perchance was not fyrste priue to the lawe makinge. These and lyke annotations of Rufus do not a lyttell offend you that be lawyers, althoughe ye haue abandoned practise. And that displeasure onely hath caused you to make this conclusion, that Rufus is not mete to be of

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the Senate the residue of your argumente both sufficiently proue it. First the diuersitie of sciences, where in your selfe doo confesse, that he is well lerned, dothe not disable hym to be a Senatour, but maketh hym moze conuenient and necessary for so noble a counsaill. For to whom doth it moze apperteyne to vse wordes in theyr propre signification, and to set them in order, so that they make not the sentence peruerse or doubtfull, than to a senatour, or one hauing rule in a weale publique, and that is the thyng whiche grammer teacheth. Logike is none other, but the science of reasonynge, helppynge naturall wytte to fynde truthe moze quickly out of diuerse opinions, by assyminge or denyng: whiche in a senatour maye not be spated. A man shall not well gouerne a cite or countrey, and sette in good order the maners of people (as Plutarcke sayth) excepte he be wel fournyshed with eloquence, wherewith onely he maye perswade, affectuously stee, inclyne, and leade where he lysteth the myndes of the multitude: And that is best lerned by Rhetorike. Howe many thynges happen in the state of a cite or Realme, whiche requireth a diligente and exacte computation with numbres: and that by Arithmetike is best perceived. In assignynge of boundes and limittes, also to the making of munitions and fortresses, also in designynge of engines for warres, who dare say that geometry is not expediente: whiche describeth equalitie and inequality, aptnesse and vnaptnes, good proportion, and deformitie. Also without armony nothyng is semely or pleasaunte, and by concord and discord all publyke weales do stande or decay: yea and as some philosophers haue wyrtten, by them all thynges hadde they?

Grammer
Logike.

Rhetorike.

Arithme-
tyke.

Geometry

they; begynnynge. And this is beste vnderstande by
the science called musike. Moreover he that leadeth Musike.
an army, if he be instructed in the dyuerse temperatu-
res of sundry countreys, by the naturall discourse of
the sunne, by the fyue cerkles, the alteration of houres
in day and nyght, by the distance of clymes and para-
reles, whiche be sensible lynes and spaces, wherby the
sunne passeth about the firmamente: Also the moone
with her mutable figures, and special authoritie ouer
waters and humours, the naturall influence of other
celestial bodies and signes, I meane in plenty or scar-
city of thynges concernyng mannes sustinaunce, & in
stormes or calmnesse of wether: All whiche thynges
be knowne by the diuine science called Astronomy. Astrono-
mye.
I saye if a capitayne be therein instructed, and not to mo-
che curiouse or arrogant, he shal the more saulfly kepe
alway his army. Julius Cesar beinge therein exactly
lerned, vauquished by celeritie and sundry pzeuentio-
ns not onely the fortune and moste experte chualtrie
of valiant Pompey: but also the incomparable wyt-
tes of fyue hundred Senatours. And our noble pro-
genitour Hadriane the Emperour was thoughte to
haue exployted thynges in batayle by the helpe of this
science aboue mennes expectation. I omit Hercules,
whiche became discipule to Atlas for the comoditie
whiche he thought to finde in astronomy. Finally as
ye all knowe, I haue had no lyttel delyte in these foure
mathematicall sciences, and yet haue for the vtilite
that I fynde in them, when I do contemplate the per-
fyte state of a weale publyke: And the same is appo-
ued bothe by Plato and Aristotle, which shapeth their
examples by ppozitions of Arithmetik, geometry, and
musike.

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muspyke, where they wyte of con corde in vertues of
polytyke gouernaunce. This well consydered, a sena-
tour eyther for gyuyng of counsaile, or for beynge a
capitayne in warres, shall fynde none impediment by
hauynge these sciences, but vsynge them moderately,
and as occasion requirerh, they shalbe to hym not on-
ly an excellent ornamēt, but also a necessary treasure,
and to all sortes of gouernaunce a thyng right expe-
dient. What although Sextilius be not profoundly
lerned in the lawes ciuile: is that a good argument,
that therfore he may not be a good counsaylour, or in
other authoritie about the weale publyke? Consysteth
all the senate of lawyers? Or standeth the weale pu-
blyke, and all her affaires onely by lawes all redy sta-
blyshed? May no publyke weale be without lawyrs?
How many noble Senatours haue there ben, and yet
are, whiche neuer radde ouer all the. xii. tables: and
yet haue they be found to reason wittily, and minister
prudently. Be lawes any thyng els than rules of
Justice, wherby she commandeth what shuld be done,
and what ought not to be done, where a weale publik
shuld prosper? Than is it euident, that Justyce ma-
keth lawes, and not lawe Justyce. Also he that rederh
the lawe, seeth the commandement of Justice, but se-
inge the lawe onely in that that he seeth it, he doth not
knowe Justyce, but contrarie wyse, he that knoweth
Justyce, by hit may discerne what is ryght or wrong,
what is equal or vnequall, and by the paterne of Ju-
stice may inuente a remedy propise and necessary, whi-
che expressed in worde or wryting may be called a law.
The knowlege of Justyce eyther hapneth by speciall
influence from the hygh god: or els it is gotten with
the

the study of wysedome, comprehended in the booke of
 wise men, who of Pythagoras were called Philosophi,
 whiche dothe signify the louers of wysedome. wher-
 fore they which eether by diuine inspiration, or by stu-
 dy of the workes of excellent wise men, haue the truest
 knowlege of Iustyce, and haue best vnderstandynge
 what is iuste, and what is vniust, and consequently
 can prouide remedies accordyng to iustyce: which re-
 medies if they ones be made vniuersal, they be lawes.
 howe so euer they be pronounced, be it by a multitude
 or by one persone, as the edict not onely of the empe-
 rour, but also of hym that is Pretor, is a lawe, as wel
 as that which is made by al the hole senate, or enacted
 by the Tribunes and people of Rome.

¶ And where ye saye that philosophers were neuer
 good practysers in a weale publyke, nor yet good men
 of warre, yf ye doo meane by practyse, that detestable
 exercyse, whyche is subtyll decepyng, crafty entermi-
 nying, mayntenance of iniustice, peruerse counsail-
 yng, and vnmeasurable gettyng, I confirme than youte
 sayinge. for a philosopher abhorreth suche practyse,
 and as moche as he may doth and perswadeth the con-
 trary. But if ye do intende by that word practyse, only
 the laudable exercise in thadmynystracion of a weale
 publyke, truly ye be in a great errour and folye, and
 do speake as if ye were one of the vulgar people igno-
 rant of letters, ye and that more is, priuate displeasure
 hath caused you to forget what ye your self hath sene,
 contrary to that whiche nowe ye haue spoken. I wylle
 not reherse all them, whiche beinge studious in philo-
 sophy haue gouerned publyke weales, or haue execu-
 ted their ministacion therein substantially: but some

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whyll I speake of.

Who gouerned Egypt and Libia moze nobly, than
dyd Hermes called Mercurius Trismegistus: and
what philosopher was in al sciences equal vnto him:
who euer kept his countrey in suche a quietnesse, and
made it so ryche as dyd Salomon kynge of the He-
bzeues: whyche as it is founden in their hystories,
translated into greke by the commādemēt of Ptho-
lome called Philadelphus kynge of Egypte, was soo
great a philosopher, that he dysputed of all thynges
naturall and supernaturall: and for his wonderfulle
knowlege there came to here hym out of all pannes of
the woꝛlde men and women, beyng at that tyme in
moſte reputation of lernynge: was euer this cite of
Rome in ſo good order as it was durynge the tyme of
Numa Pompilius, whiche was .xl. yeres, who beyng
an excellent phyloſopher and a pꝛyuate perſone, was
choſen to be kynge, and ſoo moche moze is his gouer-
naunce to be commended, that he brought the people,
whiche were rude, fierſe, and euer continually in war-
res with their neyghbours, into ſo good an order and
temperaunce of maners, that they whiche befoze were
their enemyes, had them in admyꝛation and reuerence:
who made better lawes or better ordꝛed the common
weale of the cite of Athenes than Solon the greate
phyloſopher, as longe as they coulde ſuſteyne theyꝝ
owne welthe: The ſame cite had neuer a moze noble
Capytayne, nor a moze balyaunt than was Pericles:
who with Anaxagoras contynuallye ſtudied phylo-
ſophye. And to deſcende to a moze late tyme: where
was there a better capitaine, or a moze noble warriour
than Scipio Affricane: who hadde alwaye with hym
Polybius

Polpbius the philosopher, and in vacant tymes from battayle he either herd him rede, or disputed with him. Semblably Lucullus was so studious in all kyndes of lernyng (as Plutarche writeth) that where he herd that any great lerned men disputed togyther, thither wolde he go, and studiously here them: and (as the the same autho: saythe) he haunted and embraced all kynde of philosophy, with mooste familiar acquaintance and custome, specially that whiche was called Academica, or the doctrine of Plato. And was there euer a moze noble, a moze polptike or moze valpant capitayne, and moze esteemed and dyad of mooste puissant pryncis than he was? Lord god what a senatour was Cato called Uticensis: whose vertue was wondered at throughe the worlde, whose magnanimitie and incomparable seueritie moze pzoxyted vnto the publyke weale of the citie, than the byctories of Pompey and Cesar. And was not he so studious in philosophy, that he could not temper hym selfe, but that he must nedes rede Greke boke, whan he satte in the senate: what consul can ye compare to Marcus Tullius, who only by his diuine and mooste excellent wysedome preserued the publyke weale and citie of Rome frome vtter subuersion, whiche nedes must haue hapned by the conspiracy of Cataline and his confederates, if it had not ben by the incomparable witte of Tullius found out, and by his diuine eloquence playnly conuynced, and by his wonderful wysedome suppressed and cleane extynguyshed? And howe studious he was, and exactly lerned in all kyndes of philosophy and cloquence, his mooste noble warkes do declare with fame immortall. I passe ouer Sigidius, Varro, Trasea, and many o-

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other sage and honorable senators, whiche were not onely excellent philosophers, but also prudent counsailours and valiant capitaynes. yet wylle I reherce some, whiche were in the tyme of your remembrance. The emperor Adriane was so profoundly lerned in all philosophye, that he dysputed openly at Athenes with the chiefe philosophers of all Grecia, and vanquished Phaulonius, who at that tyme was of all other moste famous: and to what pynce or capytayn gyueth he place, eyther in marciall prowesse, or ciuile gouernance: what more honoꝝ euer hapned to Rome than that Marcus Aurelius Antoninus succeeded immediately Adriane, whose lyfe was confessed to be the moste certayne lawe vnto al people to rule or be ruled: And he for his exquisyte knowlege in all philosophye, was most commonly called Antonine the philosopher, not by reproche as som wold suppose it: but for a most excellent and rare commendation. And what man dyd euer more encrease the weale publike, or better defend, it, than dyd this most noble and vertuose emperor: And be it of you receyued without suspicion of boiste, as it shall be spoken of me without any bayngloze: I whiche may not be compared with the moste inferiour of them before named, eyther in lernynge or prowesse, yet howe moche I haue amended the state of the weale publyke, ye all can beare wytnesse: And that I haue nothyng appaired the imperial maiestie, it hath bene of the Senate and people in your pꝛesence confessed. And this coulde I not so well haue doone, yf I had not instructed my wytte with the doctrine of philosophers. What saye you by Gordiane, Vlenatus, Vellus Serenianus, Catilius Seuerus, Frontinus,

Caci:

Tacitus, and Aurelianus, honourable Senatours, and our trusty counsaylours: and Sabinus whiche sytteth here with vs: haue they not right well shewed them selues to be apte vnto gouernaunce, whan they haue ben Consuls, Tribunes, and Pretors: yet be they no lawyers, but the more part of them be studious in philosophy, and other lyberall sciences.

And nowe to make an ende of this matter, wherein I haue tarped the lenger, to the intente that I wolde extirpate this bayne oppnyon, whiche men haue had agaynst philosophers and theym that be studious. Crewely that which ye do note in Sertilius to be littell husbandry and small prouision, procedeth not by lacke of good policie, as ye haue supposed, but he aduisedly doth neglecte to be riche or to aspyre to any authoritie by ambition or flattery, preferring temperate and sure quietnes, before daungerous and vnthankfull labours, and more esteemeth to be an honest lyuer, than a malapert crauer. Also by his study in philosophy it seemeth that he hath acquired a great magnanimity or noble courage, not extentyng the force of his wyt and knowlege in thynges whiche are but of lyttel importaunce: wherein he fareth like to the puissaunte grehounde, whiche was sente to the great Alexander by the kynge of Albany: vnto whom whan there was brought a great bul, he therfore wold not ones meue, afterwarde a myghty and fierce lyon, was lyke wise shewed to hym, whiche he onely behelde and moued his tayle, but he wolde not therfore aryse oute of his place. Finally there was brought forth a meruaylous great olyfant: than stode he on his feete, and dyd sette vp his bystelles, and shewed his teethe, and bringe

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comforted by Alexander, he lepte to the olyfant, and
 byt hym, and after a fewe assaultes kylled him. Like
 wise Sertilius beinge contente with his astate, exten-
 deth not his wytte to augmente it. but if he be fawou-
 rably called to thynges of greater importaunce, and
 therin well comforted, I doubt not but that he wyll
 shewe, that his study hath not ben vayne employed.
 I meruaile that ye doo not consyder, that authoritie
 and fauour not onely sheweth a good wytte, but also
 doth polyshe that whiche is rude. Fullars, taplours,
 horsekeepers, and marinars, were by the Emperour
 Commodus, and my predecessour Heliogabalus, ad-
 uanced to be Consules, Pretores, and Tribunes, whi-
 che as I herde saye were so chaunged in their wyttes,
 that it semed vnto them which knew them befoze, that
 saurunge they? visage, and personage, they were alte-
 red and made other men, so moch in they? wordes and
 procedinges they excelled aboue their accustomed wit-
 tes, all mennes expectation. Howe moche more hope
 is there of those men, whiche by education and studye
 haue they? wyttes holpen. Suppose ye not, that there
 be within our empire thousandes of men, whiche be-
 inge but of meane reputation, if they were set in auto-
 ritie, oz about our persone, wolde set forth the noble wit-
 tes equall to yours, and perchaunce better (whiche I
 speake not displeasantly, but onely to warne you to es-
 chewe arrogance) Truly god gyueth wysedome, but
 fauour and aucthoritie mooste chieflly sheweth it in a
 weale publyke. Erthe nourissheth the roote of the tree,
 but the comfortable sunne byngeth forth the bloss-
 omes, and if stormes do not lette, he with his holsome
 heate ryppeth the fruite, and maketh it pleasaunte. In
 lyke

lyke wyse studie and labour byngeth in knowledge; whiche by the comforte of pynces appereth abroad in some ministracion. And if enuy or displeasure bynne none impediment: the increase of fauour maketh lernynge fruitefull and profytable vnto the weale publyke. ye all here my sentence. And for as moche as the more parte of you (as I well do perceyue) esteeme noo lasse Sextilius Rufus than I doo, I wyll that he be sente for, and receyued into the Senate, and his name registred in the table of Senatours. wherunto at the counsaile accordeynge, it was for that tyme dissolued.

Those Sextilius heyrnge that he was made p̄etor, fled:
And what the Emperour sayde concernyng
that matter. Cap. xxxv.



AFTER THAT it was declared vnto the Senate, that the Emperour had chosen Sextilius Rufus to be a Senatour, and what he had sayde on his behalfe, they all reioiced in the Emperours wysedome and iudgement, and at his nexte comynge into the senate they all byd a-corse and gaue thanks vnto hym, for bynngynge into that college suche a man as Sextilius was. Sone after Sextilius beynge sent for by the Emperours most gentyl letters, came into the senate, and as his lernynge and honeste maners required, was beloued and commended of all men excepte very fewe, whom enuy and p̄uate displeasure continuallye fretted: whiche the wise emperour perceyuinge, to the intent as well that the vertues of Sextilius shulde be more knowen, and also be increased by his comfortable assistance, as also
to

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to mannfeste to the comfozte of other, howe moche he was inflamed in the fauour of vertue and doctryne, he caused Sertilius to be chosen Pretor, whiche than was the highest office next to the emperour, in the ministration of Justice. Therof herynge Sertilius, he beinge therat abashed and meruaylouse sorrowfull, priuylie withdrew hym selfe out of the citie: & not manyng longe abode at his owne house, in a straunge habite, haupnge but one man with hym, wente vnto Athenes, Determyngnge to passe his time there in study, vntyll the fame of hym were somewhat decreaced, and an other chosen vnto that office. Of this the aduersaries of Sertilius gathered noo lyttell occasyon, not onely to purswe hym, with mockes and derisyon, but also to accuse hym vnto the emperour of dysobedience and obstinacy contrary to his allegiaunce, and also to blame hym for his departure, without askyng lycence. All these accusations the Emperour herde withoute beinge any thynge meued agaynst Sertilius, and at the laste beholdynge the accusers with a dyspleasent countenance, he saide vnto them as hereafter foloweth.

Howe dare ye, thus presumptuously assaulte oure patience with your false accusations? O; how may ye for shame poure out your malice thus in our ptesence? What giueth you boldnesse to be thus malapert in attempting our reason with your enuious perswasions? Thynke ye vs to be so dull and grosse witted, that we can not perceyue your cōspiracies: or so deafe, that we can not here your false rumours, which ye haue spread of Sertilius: or so blynde, that we see not your cōfused affections and passions sparklyng in your eyes,

infla:

inflaming your bylage, blasting out with your wordes, whiche for angre and haste, be so set out of order, that in them do appete your detestable folly. I tell you, Sertilius by this his departing, hath nothing offended vs, or mynished the opinion that we haue had of hym, but hath augmented it, and right wel contented vs. For if enuy and malice hath not made you forgetfull, ye may remembre, that whan we chafe hym to be a senatour, one thyng wherein we comended hym was, that he neglected to be rich, or to aspire to authoritie, se ye not howe he hath confirmed my saying, and that I spake it not for special affection: he hath not onely neglected authoritie, but that more is, he is fledde from it, whan it came towarde hym. Whan we sent for him, he came vnto vs, and beinge appoynted to be a senatour, he dyd obeye vs, and gladly applyed his studie and counsaile therto pertainyng: onely heryng that he was chosen Pretor, before that he had monition thereof, he fledde, as if he had ben pursued with such force, as he had not ben able to stryue with, fearynge (as I sayde, whan I praysed him) the daungerous and vnthankfull labours, whiche he supposed to be in suche offices. And whither or to whome is he fled: not to the Persians, not to the people of Barbarie, or other our ennemyes: but he is peasily gone vnto Athens, whiche citie next vnto Rome we moste fauour. And there in a priuate habite, he lyueth in studie, in that exercyse whiche he supposeth that he can better susteyne, than the gouernance of a weale publyke. But not withstanding, shal we herefoze reiect hym & iudge him unworthy to be called to authoritie: I say, than were we ylle aduysed, and mought be noted batyable in our opinion.

nyon, sens we iudged hym ones hable for neglectyng therof, we now deme hym moze hable for the refusyng: ne we wyl be therfoze moze slacke in the offryng. ye we alsoo wylle thereto gentylly require hym. For truly authoritie ought to be gyuen to suche as careth lesse for it, & kept from them, whyche pzease fastest toward it. For he that despyeth, wold haue it for his only comoditie: he that loketh not for it, consydyeth that he is chosen for others necessitie. Therfoze howe dyuers is their mynistracion, it euer appereth, where as bothe hapneth. Leave your bayue enterpryse, to byyng vs in dyspleasure with hym, who is woorthy moze honour than we can gyue hym, and by his laudable flyghte hath vanquished your enuy, & to your great reproche hath publyshed your folp. We therfoze command you to auoyde out of our pzeence, and that we see you not, vntyll we calle for you.

The letters of the emperour Alexander sent to Sextilius, and howe vnwyllynghly he returned to Rome, and receyued the offyce of Pryetor. Cap. xxxvi.



FORTHWITH the emperour hym self indited letters vnto Sextilius, in maner folowynge. Alexander Augustus. &c. The tydings of your sodayn departing, honourable Sextilius, was to the senate and people greuouse, to your enemies (although they be fewe) pleasant and iopouse, dolorous to your fren-des, of whom there be many, but to vs not straunge, by pleasant, noz meruaylous. for asmoche as we longer haue knowen your notable temperaunce, than we haue vsed your pzeence. wherfoze now we moze con-
sider

syder your humylitie and vertuose shamesfastnesse,
 than that whiche your enemies do call obstinacye and
 dysobedience. Perswade now to your selfe, that where
 before we dyd fauour you, nowe do we moste hartely
 loue you, and haue no lasse ardent desyre to haue the
 fruition of your vertue & lernyng, than hath the true
 louer of his wyfe or companyon. What suche loue is,
 ye that haue ben at Socrates banquet, do knowe most
 certapnely. Retourne therfore with honour gentylle
 Sextilius, satisfy the desyre of me, that am both your
 emperour and louer, reioyce the senate & people, shame
 your enemyes, and recomfort your frendes. Let it suf-
 fyce vnto shamesfastnesse, that she hath caused you to
 ieparde, not only your estimation & credence, but also
 your lyfe & substance, yf there had ben a senate vncir-
 cumspect, a people disordred, or an emperour a tyrant.
 Let her now gyue place to prudence & magnanimyrie,
 her tyme of rule is expired in you, theirs is now come,
 for diuine prouidence hath so prouided, & wylleth it be
 so, sens she hath called you to the dygnitie, whiche ye
 wel haue deserued. In dayn were your longe trauaile
 in study and lernynge, yf actuall experience dydde not
 shewe forth their frutes. I confesse, that the bookes,
 whiche ye haue made, haue wel instructed other to go-
 uernance: but yet whan the publike weale calleth you,
 to be redy in your owne person to serue her, it is your
 chiefe office and duetie. For so god hath orderyed you,
 nature commaundeth you, your countrey compelleth
 you, and philosophy beaderth you. Retourne therfore
 hardily, and accept with good courage and thankful-
 lye the rewarde of your vertue. As the mynistracion
 shall be strange vnto you, that in study haue had much

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Justice suche familiaritie, and haue read so many bo-
kes of good polycie. Also (which ought moche to com-
fort you) ye haue a fauourable emperour, experte assi-
stentes, diligent ministers, and people obedient, ye be-
inge Dyetoꝝ, howe many men expert in that office shal
desyre your company, and be glad to participate with
you that whych experience oꝝ custome hath vsurped
from lernynge: Where law ciuile is necessary, among
your assistentes shall euer be some, whiche therein shall
counsaile you. but fynally yf ye haue alwaye respecte
vnto iustyce, and consyder the causes with a prudente
and dyligent scrutinie, the great knowlege of the lawe
ciuile shall not moche trouble you. Laye therfore all
Dreade apart, and be not sene foꝝ fayntnes of courage
to forsake that, whych the Emperour, Senate, and
people, lordes of the worlde, haue with so great affec-
tion and iudgement prepared foꝝ you. Take heede of
your helth, and let vs shortly embrace you.

¶ These letters were sent by poste, and in short tyme
delyuered to Sextilius, than beinge at Athenes in the
house of Sert^r Cheronēsis, with oher philosophers:
which he receiuing with reuerence opened and radde,
and in the readyng of them, partly stered with the lo-
uynge perswasions of the most noble emperour, part-
ly oppressed with dolour, seinge that he mought make
no longer defence agaynste his election, and that he
muste nedes entre the daungerouse rase of aucthoritie
pyght full of perpls, he let the salte teares tryll downe
by his chekes. But whan they that were presente vn-
derstode why that he shewed suche countenaunce, con-
trary wyse they reioyced exceedingly, as wel at the wo-
derfull wysedome of the yonge emperour, as that the
vertue

vertue and lernynge of Sextilius was in conclusyon so well consydered, callynge Rome a cite most blessed, that shulde haue suche a Pryetor: And withone consent they so pzeased on Sextilius with inuincible argumētes, that he accorded to retourne towarde Rome, and to receyue the sayde offyce. Not withstandynge after that he hadde spt a good space without speakynge, he abrayded out at the laste, and complaynyd hym in this wyse.

What myserable astate shall I nowe come for wherein diligence shall be cause of displeasure, negligence of reproche, sharpnesse shall be dreedeful, ppytie vnthankfull, familiaritie suspiciouse, frendshyp dangerous, euery mannes countenaunce pleasaunt, many meynes myndes offended, flatteryng openly, dysdaynyng secretely, agaynst my comynge attendance, in ptesence moche courtesy, beinge out of office or fauour, lacke of acquaintance. But of force I must obey that the emperour commandeth, and yet he commandeth not, but moste gentilly allureth, wherto my frendes also consenten, & reason determyneth. I therfore comyttte all vnto god, who with his prouidence al thyng disposeth.

And soo he departed, and in shorte space arriued at Rome, where with many noble Senatours, and the chiefe of the people he was gladly receiued. Many other wise and wel lerned menne did this noble prince electe, and moste gentilly inbite vnto the ministracion of the weale publyke, by occasion wherof oppression, extortion, bribery, and other corruption of iustice, were out of the cite of Rome durynge this emperours lyfe, vtterly extermynate.

A notable question mured by Julius Paulus into the Emperour Alexander. And the wise answers whiche he thereunto made. Cap. xxxviii.



WE HAVE herde befoze what austeritie and sharpnesse in punishment the Emperour Alexander vsed toward all them, which by any maner corruption gaue vntre sentences. Semblably agaynst theues, and oppressours of people he was noo lasse rigourouse, punishinge theym sharply and openly, without remission or hope of pardon: touchyng treason he dyd neuer alter or adde any thyng to the punishments whiche were afore ordeyned: And in conspiracies againste his owne persone, he often tymes suspended his sentence or deferred execution, as well to trye out the counsailes and practises of the offendours, as the fyrste occasyon of theyr displeasures: also whether theyr natures were obstinate or proude, aspyryng vnto supremitie: or if they were mylde and easy, and seemed to be intended therto by the prouocation of other. and dyuerse suche, some he pardoned, and with mooste gentyll perswasions not onely reduced them to due obedience, but also bounde theyr hartes to hym in a perfyte allegiaunce. Some he caused for a tyme to susteyne imprisonment or exyle, and as he founde them repentant, so dydde he relieue them. In theyr ecile it was punishment of death, to geue to them any thyng, but meate and drynke, and that but course and of smal quantitie, also to be in their company lenger than they brought them meate, or to speake with them, or to receyue letters of them: so that they lyued alone amonge people, in a prison vncloused.

and

and in a common resort in moste paynesfull solytude. He had not withstanding in those places of exile some trusty persons abyding, who marked in what fourme they susteyned that punishmente, whether they were very repentaunte or sturpy, and accordyng to suche mennes intimation, he caused the exile to be shorter or longer. And here aboute he was very curpouse and diligente.

On a tyme Julius Paulus a noble counsaillour, meruayling that the emperour was so pitiful toward them, whiche offended his person, beinge so rigourous agaynst all other transgressours, he fyndyng the emperour at leysoure, sayde vnto hym in this wise: Sir if it shall stande with your pleasure, I wolde be fayne satisfied, in a thyng, which causeth me to moche wonder at you. Speake on (sayde the Emperour.) Spoke sayd Paulus, In al the tyme that I haue serued your maiestie, I haue considered, that your proper nature is mylde, facile, gentyll, and wytty, and therewith adourned with incomparable pacence and constance. Wherefore whanne I beholde you in publyke or ciuile matters alway so bent to the rigour of iustice, that ye wyl pardon none execution, the offendour being iustly condemned: yet in transgressions agaynst your maiestie, be they neuer so greuous and lesully proued, ye often tymes do geue your most gracious pardon, and sometyme vnashed. And some haue I knowen, which haue ben condemned for complayntes actes agaynst theyr allegiance, to whom ye not onely remitted your graces displeasure, but also receyued them familiarly, and entertayned them with great liberalitie, as Quintus Camillus, who by secrette meanes aspired to the impe-

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imperiall maiestie, whan he was therfore broughthe a-
foze the senate all tremblyng, his conscience disclosing
his trespase, ye gpyng to hym thankes, that he wil-
lyngly wold take on hym the charge of the weale pub-
lyke, which other good men refused whan it was pro-
fered, and callynge hym copartner of the empire, led
hym from the Senate vnto your palayce, and caused
hym to sytte with you at supper, in more rycher appa-
rayle than ye were at that tyme, with moche other be-
neuolence shewed vnto him at your goynge in warres
towarde Persia. This thyng maketh me and many
other to meruaile. wherfore the causis which herevnto
to moueth you, I am moste despyrouse to knowe, whi-
che by myne owne wytte I canne not determyne. And
many other as wel as I, be therewith perplexed. I ther-
fore moste humbly beseeche your maiestie, that by your
owne mouth it maye be resolved.

The emperour after a lyttell pause, ther vnto an-
swered: Cruely Paulus we be nothyng offended with
your demaunde, but at ryght wel contented to declare
vnto you and other men of lyke wysedome, the reason
and cause that doth meue vs to do any thyng in oure
office imperiall, that therby we may exclude all yll sus-
pition, and approue our beneuolence toward the weale
publike. Albeit yf ye had sene as moch of philosophy
as ye haue done of the lawes ciuile, ye shuld not haue
had nede to haue made this demaunde. But now to
your question. ye muste confesse Paulus, that in our
person be two states or conditions: one by nature co-
mune with other men, the other by election pryuate &
from the people excepted. In the fyrst we be resembled
to beastes, for the affections and passions, wherin we
com-

communitate with them. In the other we be lyke vnto goddis immortall, in supreme dignitie excellng all other men, which is to vs hapned, and not ingenerate, by the prerogatiue of vertue, whiche is supposed to be more excellent in vs: which vertue is none other thing but disposition, and exterior acte of the mynde agreeable to reason, and the moderation of nature. The supreme dignitie that we haue receyued is onely in gouernaunce of men, whych do participate with vs in Nature, wherein they alway remaine equall with vs, but by Reason they be made inferior vnto vs. For they supposyng it to be more habundantly gyuen vs, haue therfore wyllyngly submitted them selfe vnto our gouernaunce. And what that gouernaunce oughte to be, our names of dignitie, whiche the people hath gyuen vs, do expresse it sufficiently. For they gaue to vs first the surnames of Cesar & Augustus, for remembrance of the prowesse of the one, and the wysedome of the other, whych lyke as they despyed, so they trusted to be abundantly in vs. They cal vs also Emperour. Whiche dignitie amonge the auncient Romayns consisted in the principall gouernaunce of hoostes and armies, not onely in leadyng them vnto wartes (whiche was also the office of a duke) but also to see them ener well exercised, keepyng alway and in euerpe place good order and iustyce. Moreover the senate and people haue gyuen vs a name excellng al other in honour and dignite, calling vs father of their countrey. May there be imagyned any name greater or higher? For where ye haue wylsaufe lyberally to consecrate many of our progenitours, and callynge them goddis, haue made them equall one to an nother. Onely Jupiter, whom

Habitus
contem
platiuus
& practi
cus.

Impera
tor.

Dux.

Pater pa
trix.

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Orpheus doth call lyfe, you and your progenytours
haue called father, as it were by a speciall preroga-
tiue aboue all other, which name is agreeable vnto his
propertie. For of lyfe all thynges haue being and me-
uyng, whiche acte of creation, or (more naturally to
speke it) generation, is incident to the name of father.
lyke as also his office is to preserve and kepe safe that
which he him selfe hath ingendred. Consydering how
inestimable an office and dignitie are included in that
diuine and moste reuerende name of father, makinge
me therby the moztall ymage of the lyuyng god: howe
circumspect oughte I to be, that I do nothing vnwor-
thy that name so lyberallye giuen me. Ye knowe well
Paulus, that in mens chyldren be dyuers and fundy-
dispositions, some be apt of their nature to vertue and
towardnesse, some haue not nature so prompt and be-
necolent, wherfore they must be by education ther vn-
to formed: some be quicke of wytte, some dulle in ca-
pacitie. of sharpe wyttes, some moste do resplendyshe
in actes that be honeste, other seme quickest in malyce
and shrewdnes. The good and diligent father of eue-
ryche of them is equally carefull, and assayeth fyrste
by education to make them all conformed vnto his
appetite. And therfore at the fyrste with swete meates
and pryncypall gyftes he allureth them all for to loue hym,
and where they offende (as none or els verie fewe are
perfyte in vertue) correctyng them with a lytel sharpe
rodde, he maketh theym also to feare hym. And yf he
beate a shrewde boy, it is done as well to put other in
feare to offende, as to make hym amende. And some-
tyme the father to restrayne the prompte disposition
that he seeth in his chyldren to vicious qualites, doth
abdicat

abdicate now and than oone, that is to say, putteth
 theym out of his familie, and clerely excludeth theym
 from any hope of inheritaunce. Somtyme perceyving
 their chydnes to reassle, yf any transgresseth against
 hym selfe onely, eyther he correcteth hym moderatly,
 or by a wyle and gentyl perswasion, assayeth to induce
 hym to knowe wel his duetie, and to plucke from hym
 opinion of a fals libertie. Next vnto god, who is so
 great a father, as he which is father of a hole countrey:
 that is to say, father of them that be fathers, their chil-
 dren and family. Howe moche than ought the care of
 hym, exceede farre the cares of all other: the charitie
 of hym, the loue of all other: the wysedome of hym,
 the prudence of other: The studious father more ca-
 reth howe to byngre by his children in honestie, than
 howe to lyue pleasantly. The louing father hath more
 sollicitude aboute his chyldrens helth, than about his
 owne welthe. The wyle father more considereth, what
 his sonne shall be in the estimation of other men, than
 howe he maye content his syngular affection. I haue
 shewed to you the office of a priuate father. What wyl
 ye now say to me, that in offyce am the vniuersall fa-
 ther of all the hole countrey: wyl ye say, that I shuld
 haue lasse care, lasse loue, or lasse wysedome and poly-
 cie: I suppose no, I knowe therein your opinion suf-
 ficiently. Than take good hede what I saye. The ri-
 gour of Iustyce, whiche ye seeme to note in me, in pu-
 nyshyng offenders against the weale publike, is but a
 forme of discipline, conuenient and necessary, hauyng
 regarde to suche chyldren as I found in this citie, cor-
 rupted with al kyndes of vyce, and hauyng their myn-
 des and wyttes all dysposed to folow, whiche beinges

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general detriment, I haue vsed therein a more sharped remedy: and therfore consequently it hath ben founde the more conuenient and speddy.

In offences touchynge our onely persone, we haue discended in our mynde from the imperypall maiestye, and considered our fyrst astate left vs by nature, wher in lokynge as in a myxtour, we beholde the same matter that other men be of, and therein the sedes of sundry affections. this causeth vs where we fynde hope of amending, in lamentynge the mysery of mankynde, to be meued with a fatherlye pytie, and moche lasse esteemyng the daungier of our persone onely, than of the hole countrey. We endeuour vs by mercy and gentlenes, to restore that vnkynde childe, whiche hath offended vs, cōsones to his brethren & company. Not withstandynge yf he be so malicious and arrogant, that he wyll not cease to abuse our pacence, we than refuse hym to be our chylde, and as an enmye vnto the weale publike (for so be all that intendeth hostilytie agaynst hym, whiche is heed and father thereof) we commytte hym to the senate and people, for his malyce and treason to be iustely condemned. And thus doynge, we accomplishe all the partes of a father: and keepynge the people in a moderate feare and good order, we execute the offyce of a good emperour.

Thus haue ye Paulus a iust accompt of our mynistracion, I wote not howe it contenteth you, sure I am that myn owne conscience therein was neuer offended, nor the publyke weale greued, nor any good man therby oppressed, wherof I haue the senate and people my wytnesse, and hym onely my iudge, who being in heauen, sayleth not to punishe all them that abuse
his

his ymage.

Herewith Julius Paulus seemed to be satisfied, & moste humbly thankynge the emperour, and meruaillynge at his greatte wysedome and temperaunce, for that tyme departed.

Of a great exclamation made agaynst a gentill man called Marcus Geminus by his libertines. And the oration of Junius Moderatus, made in the Senate. Cap. xxxviii.



LIKE wyle as this Emperour Alexander was rigourouse and terrible to corrupt iudges and oppressours of iustice, so was he moste fauorable and bounteous vnto all suche as were sincere in their ministrations and supporters of equite. On a tyme as he went to warde the Senate, there came agaynst hym a greate numbze of persones, homely apparayled and of a rude presence, whiche as the Emperour approached them, they felle down on their knees, and in a moste lamentable foine with one confuse cry accused a gentelman called Marcus Geminus of oppression, & to bring him more into displeasure and enuy, they added to their complaynt, that he was one of them that cōspired with Quintus Camillus. The Emperour herd them, and diligently marked their gesture and countenaunce, wherein he percepued to be more rancour than dolour, more sturdynes than humble shamefastnes, more obstinat cruelty, than reason or honesty: He than asked of them, what people they were. They answered, sayeng: that they were husbandmen of Campanta. He cōmanded them to withdraue them vntyll they were sent for, and shewynge to them a ryght gentyl bysage, he passed

from theym.

The peple receyving a more arrogant courage, of the comfortable countenance, whiche it seemed that the Emperour made to them at their departing, leaving for the while their countersayte sorowes, they spent the dayes in tavernes and bytapyng houses, the nightes in places of bawdy, promysinge vnto theym selues victorie against Geminus, adding thereto with moste dispitfull arrogance, that his tourmentes and death shuld be a dreedefull example to gentill men, and that from thenseforth their plough men and tenants shuld be felow like with them. Which menaces and boystynges were soone after reported vnto the Emperour: But first as sone as he was comme to the Senate, he shewed there al that was hapned, and than he demaunded the Senatoures, if any of theym knew Marcus Geminus. Diuers of theym answered in ordre, that they knew hym well, and that he hadde ben alway reputed a man of moche honesty, and hauing a competent lyving for his degree, had euer liued therewith temperately, withoute note of reproche vnto this tyme. Herewith as the Emperour sate maruayllinge at the fury of the said clamorous people, and the commendation gyuen to Marcus Geminus, an auncient Senatour named Junius Moderatus, who was reputed to be a man of greatte worthyp, and was of the age of one hundred yeres, or there aboute, byd stande vp on his feete, and sayd in this wyse.

The oration
of Junius
Moderatus.

Moste noble Emperour, all be it that I am not requiered, nor do now intende to take on me the defence of Marcus Geminus, with whome I haue no manner acquaintance, yet to thintent that your most gentill
pitie

pitifull hart tempred with iustyce, shuld be no longer
 perplexed, as it apperethe to be by your countenance.
 I wyl by remembreinge your maiesty of the generall
 state and condition of them, whiche haue complayn-
 ned on Marcus Ceminus, in some part (I trust) re-
 solue the importance of your admiration and study.
CYe do well perceyue, that the complayners be al of
 Campania, a countray most plenteous of all thynge
 that the erthe may byrnyng fourthe, and therewith so fer-
 tile, that it dothe not require greates toyle or labour,
 but onely good diligence in obseruing the oportunitie
 of tyme in sowynge & planting, with the preservation
 of the thinges whyles they be growing. With this fer-
 tilitie, the bodie do become fat and lusty, and thereby
 are made ille disposed to labour, the which disposition
 the goodnes of the soyle alway supportith: therof pro-
 cedeth obstinate sturdines agaynst their superiours,
 and often tymes conimotions and sodayn rebellions:
 and with great diffiendty hath that people be brought
 vnto a perfite obedience, whiche was after that they
 had rebellid ageynst the Romanes being confederate
 with Hannibal and the Carthaginensis: At the which
 tyme they being banquished by Fulvius, many were
 slayne, the multitude were solde in bondage vnto the
 Romanes among whome the feldees and possessions
 were at that tyme diuided. it dured a long tyme, that
 the Romanes being good husbondes them selues, o-
 uerseing theire tyllage and husbondry, keppuge the
 Campanes in seruitude, boundainging them with con-
 tinual labours, feedinge and clothynge them moderatly,
 and more nerer to scanty, than superfluy, leauynge
 them no more vacacion from labour than the festiual
 dayes.

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Dayes, which the lawes haue appointed: the countrey
 abode in continuall quietnes, and iustice was there
 sufficiently ministred, by one onely magistrate, sente
 vnto them perely out of this city. There dwelled Sa-
 cerna, Tremillius, Julius Atticus, and diuerse other
 gentilmen, as well in hus bandrye, as in other wyse-
 dome and policy noble and famousse, withoute excla-
 mations vnto the Senate. Moreover the gentylmen
 brought vp in that countrey, for their temperance in
 liuing, and prudent gouerning of their owne family,
 were often tymes electe into the senate, and esteemed al-
 way for the best senators. But after the subuersion
 of Carthage, and that al Greece and Asia were in our
 iurisdiction, Spaine made tributary, & Gallia brought
 vnder subiection, Idelnesse, with delicate appetite en-
 tred to gyther into this citie, and so inoche abounded,
 that it was from thense distributed into al the hole re-
 gion of Italy. And than the gentilmen of Campania,
 lefte their ancient frugality and diligent gouernance,
 and vpd sette all their study, onely about thynges ple-
 sant and dilectable, not being contented wth the com-
 modities of the same countray, ne with the same mea-
 sure and quantity, whiche they befoze vsed, but with
 outragious expenses, sending into other countreyes
 far of, for other kyndes of thynges which they had not
 growynge, they vnsaciably fed therewith them selues
 and their seruantes, & contemnyng the exercise of hus-
 bandry, they negligently haue suffred their seruantes
 to be oppressed with gourmandise, and to reiecte their
 accustomed fare, and to haue it moze delicate. Also to
 increase slepe and pastime, and to minishe their labors
 and diligence. Moreover by pryuate contentions &
 monge

monge the same gentylmenne (whiche alway hapneth where temperance lacketh) by ambition and enuy, they that were bondemen were enfranchised and made libertynes, to the intent that their lordes wolde be sene plentiful of men, to mainteyn their quarrelles: wherby it is hapned that the progeny of the sayde bondmen are now of suche sturdines, that they disdain and take scoyne to be corrected, ne wyll otherwysse labour than it shall lyke them. And if their lordes wyll sharply call on them, they wyll not let, boldly to make resistance: and where they be not thereto sufficient, they wyll suborne some false quarrell to make a comotion, trusting therby to robbe and destroy their lordes: or if they can not bying that to passe, at the leste they wyll make infuste exclamations, where they fynde a prynce, whome they suppose to haue his eares open to tales & reports, & wyll condemne in his oppynion men complayned on, before pchance that he knoweth them. Herof haue we to many examples, as well in the tyme of Tyberius, Nero, and Domitiane, as in the tyme of my remembrance. Were not Dullius Sullanus, and Antius Lupus, men of great honesty, condemned to dethe by the Emperour Comodus, vpon the false complayntes of their libertines: whiche grutchted agaynst them, because that Sullanus was a sterne man, and of the ancient seueritie, wherfore they moughte not susteyne hym, punysshing them continually for their ybell and vpyttous lyuynge. Lupus because he wold not suffer his libertines to inuade vpon his possessions, and to retayn certayn portions of lande, which after the dethe of Petilius Rufus his mothers vnkle (whose heire Lupus was) they had taken by felthe, whyles he was

Libertines were of lyke conditions, as our coppeholders were of olde tyme.

in Asia. wherfore they appeched hym vnto the emperoz;
 sayeng that he was of familiar counsaile with Caius
 Regilius, whom a lyttell before. Cominodus had put
 vnto deathe. Petronius in the tyme of Caracalla the
 emperour, was also put vnto dethe by a lyke occasion.
 And to speake of myne owne experience, by the space
 of. xl. yeres, so longe I continued in keppynge of hus-
 bandry in the countrey of Umbria, hauing therein mo-
 che delectation. I found the rustical people my neigh-
 bours prompte to iniuries, murmurynge at Iustyce,
 grutchynge at labours, despyous of pleasures, ingrate
 agaynst benefytes. At the fyrst I was with them fami-
 lyar and homely, than founde I them alway carlyshe
 and sturdy. than agaynst myn owne nature I chaun-
 ged my copy, and became towarde them moze strange
 in countenaunce, moze rare in speakynge, moze selde
 in pardonynge, moze quicke in reuengynge suche in-
 iuries as they wyllyngely dyd me. Moreouer I was
 moze frequent in cominandyng my lybertines, & wold
 my selfe se theym to do truely their seruices, nothyng
 omittynge: than had I lyttell and seldome any occa-
 sion to be offended with. There was none iniuries of-
 fered me of my neyghbours, whiche beholdynge me so
 sharpe to my lybertines, and so rygorous in Iustyce,
 feared to dysplease me. My lybertines forgettynge all
 pleasures, studyed with labour and dylgence to gette
 some prayse of me. Than consydered I wel, that good
 dettours oftentymes spared, become yll payers, small
 iniuries oftentymes pardoned, maketh of neyghbours
 pernycious enemyes. A seruaunt made malapert, wyl-
 kycke at his duetie, and labour by custome becometh
 easy, behold, that gentyl maisters haue alway proude
 seruantes.

seruantes. And of a mayster sturdy and fierce, a lpttell
 wynde to his seruant is a fearefull commaundement.
 The nature of libertines is moch contrariouse to that
 whiche is gentyll. The gentylman, gentilly intreated
 is contente to do all thynge: The vyle nature, samp-
 lyarly bled, grudgeth at every thynge. This is euery
 day proued, but no witte can make streight which na-
 ture made croked. Geminus is a gentylman of an old
 house of the latines, whose great graundefather Ru-
 bellus Geminus was consul in the late dayes of the
 emperour Tiberius. He hath his possessions in Cam-
 pania (as I haue herde say) by an auncetour of his
 mother called Pomponius Sura. Perchance his no-
 ueltie there may be disdayned, and the moueable peo-
 ple lackyng somwhat of their wylles, may be comfoz-
 ted by some of equall degree vnto Geminus, by their
 exclamations to bypunge hym out of credence, and con-
 sequently vnto some ieoperdy. wherfoze serueth the
 Pzeto? Criphonius, who is knowen to be a man very
 discrete, well lerned, and of a great iudgement: if they
 came to hym, why dyd he not here them? If he wolde
 not here them, why complayne they not of hym? If he
 dyd here them, why is Geminus left styl vnpunished?
 If he be punished, why is he eftsones accused? Hym
 aduysle is mooste noble Emperour, that Marcus Ge-
 minus be hastily sent for, that he haue no leysure to so-
 licite the Pzeto? Criphonius: and that immediately
 after ward a letter be directed to the same Pzeto?, wyl-
 lpng him to aduertise your maiesty with al expedition,
 what may be proued in the ratification of suche arty-
 cles as bene objected in the accusation of Geminus:
 whiche proues beinge sente vp vnto vs, yf Geminus

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cannot refell them, than let the lawes of the citie procede agaynst hym. If the suggestion be founde false and malicious, than shall your maiestie do lyke a vertuous gouernour, and father of the countreie, yf by your excellent wysedom and rule of iustice, ye prouide that the fals accusers and their abbettours may be so punished, that they and other persons of lyke inclination, may be aferde to abuse your clemency and moste gentyll nature. And nowe hath your maiestie herde all myne opinion.

This sentence contented the Emperour, who therfore comended the substantial wysedome & compendious eloquence of the old Moderatus. And according therunto was Geminus sent for by an officer, and sone after a letter was sente to Triphonius, according to the minute before rehearsed: which was deliuered to the Pretor, incontinent vpon the departing of Geminus.

The wonderfull prudence and equitie shewed by Alexander the Emperour, in the determination and sentence in the matter precedinge. Cap. xxxix.



THE comynge of Geminus to Rome, he was forthwith committed vnto Cateilius the Senatour to be secretely kepte, with comforte gyuen vnto hym, that yf such thynges as he was accused of, could not be proued by wytnesse or matter sufficient, his accusation shulde be to hym an happye displeasure.

In the meane tyme Triphonius the Pretor, when he had radde the emperours letters, fearynge his rigoros iustyce to rulers and iudges corrupted or negligent, he forthwith sent vnto the moste honest inhabitant:

bi chauntes, not beinge gentylmen, whiche dwelled in
to townes and villages next adioynng to the habitati-
on of Geminus: whom not beinge yet ware of the de-
partynge of Geminus, no; for what cause they were
sent for, the Dyeto; callyng vnto hym one of them af-
ter an other, he seuerally examyned theym, what they
knew o; supposed of Marcus Geminus, in what con-
dicion he vlsed hym selfe, by what concernynge his sayth
to thempour senate and people of Rome, also in Ju-
stice and equitie touchynge his neighbours, moreouer
frugalitie and temperance in his owne family, finally
in oppression and crueltie to his tenants and lyber-
tines. Addyng ther vnto, that the emperours maiesty
was informed, that Geminus in all the sayde poyntes
was greuousely noted, whiche beinge sufficiently pro-
ued agaynst hym, his punishment shulde be to all o-
ther men a dreadfull example, wherby poore men shuld
afterwarde lyue in the more suretie, & out of the dan-
ger of cruell affections. Euery one that was examy-
ned aparte, frely without alteration of wordes, affir-
med, that Geminus was a mā of great honesty, & that
they dyd neuer suspect his faith of allegiaunce, although
he repaired sometyme to Oninius, whan he soioyned
nigh to hym, which he seemed rather to do for the hono-
ring of Oninius dignite, thā for any special affection
that he had towarde hym, considering that they were
most vnlike of conditions. For Oninius was proude,
ambiciouse, and prodigall: Geminus was gentyll,
moderate in liuyng, and temperate in spendyng. The
other was almoste ignorant of lettres, delpyting in ri-
ote and lechery: this man well lerned, and hauing his
pyncypall pleasure in redyng o; wytyng. So diuerse

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conditions coulde neuer ioyne hartes in a feruent affection. Moreover they coulde neuer perceyue, that Geminus at any tyme pꝛeysed Oninius, otherwys than is the general pꝛayse gyuen to men in authority, calling hym honozable. Concerning iustyce and equitye, they sayd that therin he was euer founde notably trueste, in soo moche as by keepnge his promise and touch, he susteyned often tymes no litle detriment. Also he remitted oftentymes a good parte of his duety, which the lawes gaue hym, sometyme of gentynesse, sometyme meuid with the persons necessity. The measurable fare and good ordꝛe of his family, was to all his neyghbours an excellent patern. To his tenants & libertines at his first commynge he was of moch affabilitie. but after that he had perceyued by the auncient tables and minumētes belonging vnto his patrimony, that his libertines had withdꝛawen some parte of their seruices, and craftily entrelaced his dominical landes with their seruite possessions, he first assaid to perswade them to restore vnto hym his inheritance, offering to remytte vnto them their wrongfull intrusions, with all the profites which they had therof receyued, if they wold willingly depart from that which by iustice they mought not kepe from hym: but they litle regarding his honest requeste, obstinately denyed to leue the possession of those landes, whiche they had so long occupied, and became in all their actes towarde hym stourdy and malapert, wherwith being displeasantly meued, he with his household seruantes & frendes expelled them from the possession of suche landes as they wrongfully occupied: wherewith they beinge exasperate, and desirous to be reuenged (supposynge that

that if they complained to the p̄etor, the truth shortly appering vnto hym, they shuld no thing p̄uaile, but be foꝛ euer excluded from their vniuste occupation) they conspiring to gyther went vnto two gentillmen dwellinge hereby, the one called Duillius, the other Cotta, who alway had enuy at Marcus Geminus, & mought not susteine his commendation, but vsed to speke reprochfully of hym. whan they had herd what the libertines purposed, they exceedingly reioyced therat, and gaue to them not onely comfort in their proceedings, but also summes of money toward their charges, with secreete lettres vnto theire frendes and acquaintance in the city of Rome, desiring them to assist and solycite the cause of the libertines. They said mozeouer, that there remained yet in the towne of Geminus, as well libertines as menne free of condition, his tenauntes, whiche bepng of a moze honest nature, and perswaded at the first with the reasonable request of their loꝛd, wold by no meanes consent vnto the conspiracy, not withstandinge that they were there vnto p̄eased as wel by the sayd gentillmen as by the libertines. which persons they thought expedient to be also examined. That heying the p̄etor, commending their truthe and modesty, he depeched those deponentes foꝛ that time, commaunding them to kepe al thing secreete, and immediatly he sent foꝛ the sayd residue of the tenantes and libertines of Marcus Geminus, who bepng lyke wyse examined, in al and euery thing agreed with the firste witnessses. Than Triphomus incontinent caused hoxses to be p̄ouided, and those persones without any lenger abode, to be conueyed to Rome with his lettres vnto the Emperoure, conteynyng:

wyng the true report of the sayde examinations. whiche letters the Emperour readynge hym selfe, commaunded that those men, whiche were comine to the citie, shulde be forthwith brought to his presence, in mooste secrete wyse, which was perfourmed. Than the Emperour calling to hym Alpiamus, Catelius, Paulus, and Sabinus, who at that tyme were in the palayce, he commanded the sayde persons to be brought forth, and hym selfe demaunding lyke questions of them, as Triphonijs had done, but in another order and facion, he found their wordes in euery condition, lyke as they had deposed, sauinge that they therunto added, that the complaynors befoze their departyng, and after that they were comine from Duillius and Cotta, had importunately desired these menne to goe with them, saieng, that they nothing doubted, but that Geminus at the leste shuld lose his hed, and that they for their trauelles shulde haue his goodes, or a good parte therof deuided among them: and that Duillius and Cotta trusted to haue his landes by gyfte or by purchase. That hering the Emperour, with bysage inflamed, and eyes sparkelynge as fyre, braste out in these wordes folowynge.

A villayne nature bestiall and monstruouse. Cruell enuy foule and malitiously, the one neuer banquetted with gentilnes, the other neuer contented with vertue and sobzenes. How often haue wyse men ben by suche falshode deluded, Emperours, kynges, and other potentates by such serpentes abused, iustice oppressed, mercy sklaundered, good people destroyed, false harlottes aduanced? God forbidd that I shuld lyue Emperour of Rome, if I wolde not see this enormitie

mytpe punished, whereby all publike weales may be shortly subuerted. for where orde fayleth, obedience decayeth, boldenes increaseth, decept escapeth, iniury preuaileth, auarice corrupteth, the state of a weale publyc sone after perissheth. whan he had sayd thus: he comending the truthe and sinceritie of them, which had spoken, communded that they shulde remayne stil in his palapce in a place secreete, vntyl it were his pleasure for to call for them. Than caused he to be published throughout the cite, that Marcus Geminus was likely shortly to be condemned. which being comen to the eares of his accusers, they replenished with ioy, comed aboute the citie, imbracing theire frendes and confederates, with mutuall congratulations, making bankettes one to another, for exceding ioye forgetting to slepe, but passed forth the nyghtes in drynkyng and syngyng, and deuising tourmentes for Marcus Geminus. Of all this herde the Emperour, who dissembled his angre, albeit he had no lasse solicitude, in providing the meanes how theyr mischiefe and fallshode mought be in suche wyse corrected, as good menne mought be free from suche perilles, and the example mought betterly drowne the malyce of wretches. As sone as Duillius and Cotta had herde of the brute of the condemnation of Geminus, with all speede they bothe came vnto Rome, bynging with theym greate presentes to gyue vnto such as were nyghe about the Emperoure, to thintente that they by their meanes mought attayne to the possessions of Geminus. But these noble men, vnto whome they offered to gyue the said presentes, refused to take them, fearyng the Emperours seuerity. As sone as the Emperoure had herd

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of the commynge of Duillius and Cotta, he sente for them, and in the p̄sence of dyuers Senarours, after that he had taken them by the handes, with a familiar countenaunce, he dissembled to them, that he was moche grieved with the unkyndenesse of Geminus, toward his persone, and allso his opp̄ressions and iniuries toward his libertines and tenants. With that Duillius and Cotta being moche comforted toward their purpose, to aggrauate the complayntes agaynst Geminus, and seming to do well, dispraysed the rigorous tyrany of Geminus, and commended the simplicitie of his lybertines, sayenge, that they wolde not so soone haue complayned on Geminus, yf they had not ben by them behemently styrted and prouoked therto.

¶ After that the emperour had ben a while in a study, as it were to say some thyng agaynst Geminus, at the last with a familiar visage, he sayde vnto theym: Ye haue knowen in how moch detestation I haue alway had the opp̄ression of innocentes, the iniuries doone with extreme malyce and violence: And yet not withstanding the sharpe corrections, whiche haue ben executed agaynst suche malefactours, as well by ancient lawes of this cite as by our owne decrees and ordynances, yet as it semeth that pestylence in the weale publyke ceaseth not. Wherfoze we nowe wolde, that some newe and straunge correction were deuysed for Geminus, whiche shulde be suche as to al men of euery degree, it mought be the mooste fearefull example to offende in lyke condicion. And as touchyng the offence toward me, I shall holde me contente with the iugement, whiche the lawes haue prouided. And moze ouer, to thintent that men shall perceyue, howe moche we

we fauour them that do suppozte trewe men agaynst tyrantes, I wolde that some rewarde were also deuysed for suche supporters, equall and conuenient vnto their merites. And herein wyl we fyrst here your sentences, for as moche as ye do seme to be men of zeale, and are repozted to be wyse men and polyttike aboute your affaires. wherfore we intend to haue of you better acquayntance, that the publike weale by you may be amended.

¶ These wordes of the Emperour, Duillius & Cotta toke to be all for their benefyte, and thynking that they had good oportunitie, offred them to acheue their desyre, thynkyng that the moze sharpe and behement punysshement they dyd deuyle for Marcus Geminus, the better it shuld content the mynde of the emperour. Fyrst Duillius forgetting hym selfe, with face all inflamed with malice, declarid his sentence in this wise. Forasmoch as the Emperour had referred the offence committed agaynst his maiestie, to the iudgement of the lawes ciuile, (albeit that suche punysshement were insufficient for such a traitour as Geminus was) concerninge his oppression of innocentes, his correction mought be no lesse than that he beinge al naked, shuld by his lybertines be fyrst of all whipped throughtoute the citie of Rome with whippes full of ruelles called Scorpions, and afterward his nose & eares beinge cut of, so with reproches to be conuayde vnto the towne of his habitation, and there to be esteones whipped by all his lybertines: and from thens to be carped into the Isles called Hebrides, and neuer to retourne into Italie: his chylderne also to be banysshed for euer out of that territoiry: restitution also to be made to the

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libertines of al that whiche was bereft them. As con-
 cernyng the resydue, they which were accusers of trait-
 ours and supporters of the same accusers, shuld haue
 diuided among them, the one halfe deale of their goo-
 des and possessions: so that the one halfe thereof shuld
 be to the accusers, the other halfe to the supporters of
 them, the other halfe deale of the hole shulde be confi-
 scate to the emperours treasure. Cotta agreed in eue-
 ry thyng with Duillius, sayunge the deforminge of
 Geminus and banysment of his chuldren, sayenge,
 that therin was to greatte a vilage of crueltie. In the
 disposition of the goodes and possessions, he added vn-
 to the sentence of Duillius, that if the accuser or sup-
 porter were a bondman or libertine, he shulde haue no
 parte of the possessions, but onely the fourthe parte of
 the mouables, in the residue he agreed with Duillius.
 When they had spoken, the emperour and other that
 were with hym, semed to commende their zelous affe-
 ction, and the emperour fyndyng occasion by the lack
 of tyme, and that his supper abode than for hym, dyd
 depart from them, sayinge that he wolde aduise hym
 on their wyle counsailes, and lycenced them to depart
 with a familiar becke. Who being retourned to theyr
 lodgynges, and sendyng for the libertines and other
 of their acquayntaunce: after that they had declared
 what they had spoken, and how nigh the confusion of
 Geminus dyd appoche, and what truste they had to
 enioye his goodes and possessions, there was made a-
 monge theym ioye without measure, with reuelle and
 bankettyng, so that the repozte thereof came to the ea-
 res of the emperour, and of al the Senate, whiche re-
 mayned in a great expectation of the emperours iuge-
 ment.

ment. Afterwarde the emperour commanded his place of astate to be made redy in the Theatre of Pompey, and that the people of Rome shulde be summoned to be redy there the thirde day folowing. whiche was accomplished. And the emperour being set with his noble counsayloz with him, he commanded that as wel the libertines, as Duillius and Cotta shulde prepare theym to the accusation of Geminus, who came into the place, byngynge with them one Rutilius Lupus a subtylle Rhetorician, to be theyr aduocate. But Geminus onely trustyng on his owne conscience, refused to haue any other patrone, than the true examination and iustyce of the emperour and other, whiche were his iudges. And the Emperour was therewith ryghte well contented, consyderyng that the tyme of the controuersye shulde be made therby the shorter.

First Lupus began his oration with a great praise of the Emperours vertues, whiche the Emperour in no wyse sustaynyng, but being therewith offended, interpellid Lupus, and commanded hym to enter into his narration, and to declare immediately the state of the matter conteyned in the complaynte of the lybertines. Than Lupus being partly abashed, for as moch as his beginning was to make the emperour & herers be neuolent toward the libertines, & to make the cause agaynst Geminus to seme more greuous, he coldly entered into the matter, & generally objectid ageinst Marcus Geminus his familiar resoꝛt vnto Oninius Camillus befoze that he was detected of treson. And ther vnto he brought in for witnessis Duillius & Cotta, who he callid men of gret woꝛship, Geminus speaking yet nothing, noꝛ changinge his countenance. Duillius &

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Cotta by to moch malice & couetyse, forgetting them selues, pleased furth, and sayd, that they had oftentimes sene Geminus not only at souper with Oninius in the tyme of his conspiracy, but also talking familiarly & secretly with him. Therwith the Emperour taking occasion, demāded of them, what it was that Geminus spake to Oninius. They sayd, they wylt not, for they stode farre from theym, and mought not here theym. The Emperour demaunded, if they dyd se whan Geminus came and departed. They answered, that for the moze part they came befoze hym, and abode longe after hym. He asked moze ouer, in what fourme Geminus departed from Oninius. They sayde, for the moze parte with no pleasunt countenance of the one or the other. The Emperoure asked, if Geminus were desired by Oninius to come, or if he came to hym vn-sent for. They sayd, they could not remember, but that Oninius sent alway a seruaunt for Geminus. The Emperour demaunded, if he dyd likewise with them. They answered, no. The Emperour immediately sent for Oninius, who being reconsiled to the Emperoure, was than in the Senate, and for Carnilius his seruaunt, who had detected his treason: and in the meane tyme the Emperour turned hym vnto Geminus and sayd, that if he were the man, that he shewed to be, he wolde lasse esteeme deth than the losse of hys credence, and that for his parte he moze esteemed the confession of truthe, than the auenging of his displeasure. Wherefoze he charged hym vppon the faythe of an honest man, to tell playnely, whereof was the communication betwene hym and Oninius. Geminus answered, that the first accesle that he had to hym was

was voluntary and vnſent for, onely to ſalute hym,
bycauſe he was a Senatour, and in greate eſtimati-
on, not knowing any thyng of his trayterouſe affec-
tion: But perceiuing his qualities, and natural appe-
tites not to be agreeable to his opinion and ſtudy, he
ceſſed to come, vntil he was deſired of Oninius, which
as he after perceyued, was for his incommodity. For
Oninius deſired of hym a mantion place, whiche he
had ioyning to the gardeins of Nero, from the which
he wold in no wiſe departe. All be it often and ſundry
tymes Oninius ſent for hym, and as well by offeringe
greate ſummes of money and frendſhip, as ſometime
by menaces, he aſſayde to gette of hym the houſe, but
laſt of all he thyetned hym, that hauynge all thyng at
commaundment, as he doubted not but that he ſhuld
ſee it come to paſſe ſhortly, he wolde leaue hym nei-
ther houſe nor life. With the which wordes Geminus
ſayde, that he was aſtonyed, and ſo departed with his
diſpleaſure. But yet not thinkinge, that Oninius in-
tended any conſpiracy, conſidering that he was allied
vnto the Emperour, and was by hym aduanced vn-
to greate riches. Thus ceaſed Geminus to ſpeake
any moze. And by that tyme Carnilius was comen,
who beyng demaunded, what acquaintaunce he hadde
knowne to be betwene Oninius and Marcus Gemi-
nus: he aunſwered, that he knew none acquaintaunce
betwene them, but that often tymes he had herde Oni-
nius his maſter ſaye to his ſecrete frendes, after
that he had a longe tyme talked with Geminus, that
he was a ſturdy and obſtinate perſone, and wold not
conſortme hym to his requeſtes, concernyng a houſe
which he had nigh to the citty, wherfoze if he mought
byynge

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byrnge his purposes to passe, he wolde leaue hym nei-
ther house no: heed on his shoulders. The Emperour
demaunded, yf Geminus were any of them that Oni-
nius counsailed with concerning his cōspiracy. Ther-
at smild Camilius and said, that Oninius neuer had
hym in so moch reputation, fo: he euer esteemed him to
be moſte vnaypte to any ſuche practyſe. Than came in
Oninius, and the Emperour commaundyng hym,
ſate downe by hym: And the Emperour aſked hym if he
knewe Marcus Geminus. And he fearyng that he
had complayned of hym, bluſhed, and ſayde, that he
coulde neuer fynde kyndneſſe in hym, and that his na-
ture was ouerthwart and alway agaynſt his deſires.
Wherfoze he deſyzed the Emperour not to gyue to mo-
che credence vnto hym in ſuch thinges as he complai-
ned of hym, other than touchyng the request made fo:
his houſe in the cite, whiche he confeſſed to haue deſi-
red importunately, and fo: that cauſe onely had often
tymes conuented him whā he repaired into that coun-
tray. The Emperour with that anſwere was wel con-
tented, and demanded, if he had any better opinion of
Duillius and Cotta. He ſayde, that they were of a no-
ther ſorte, and moze conſourmable vnto his appetite.
Therat the Emperour laughed in his hart (as he after
declared vnto his familyars) markyng the ſolpe as
wel of Duillius and Cotta, as of Oninius Camilius,
whiche vnwares had diſcloſed their ſecrete affections,
and declared the innocēcy of Marcus Geminus. And
lycencyng Oninius to returne to the Senate, he com-
manded Lupus to reſort to the reſydue of the accuſa-
tion of Geminus: who partly beinge diſcozaged, with
a weake eloquence alledged the iniurie and cruell op-
preſſion

pression of Geminus, extended vnto his tenants, taking from them their auncient possessions, and annexing them to his dominicall landes. Therewith Geminus being somewhat incited, plainly denyed that it was their ancient possessiōs, but affirmed that it were his proper dominical landes, which betwene the death of his vnkle and his entrie, they had vniustly usurped and falsely conceyld. Wherefore not only he by the law mought iustly expulse them from that which they vnlesfully occupied, but also by their ingratitude they had forfeited their manumissions, and consequently the landes gyuen to them by his auncetours of good ryght ought to resorte eftsones to his possession. This heying the emperour, he demaunded of the complaynantes of what state and condicion they were? They all confessed, to be the libertines of Marcus Geminus, and that suche landes as they had, were seruaile, as for the whiche they were bounden to certayn obseruances. But they plainly denied, that they had forfeited any thyng, and with great exclamations, and out of order cryed out on Geminus. Than commaunded the emperour, that the gentlemen and residue of the libertines and tenants, sent by Triphonius, shulde be brought in, who being in likewise examined, declared openly the stealyng of Geminus dominicall landes, by the sayd libertines, whiche were accusers, the conuiccion of them to the destruction of Geminus, their priue sollicitation of other, the malicious supportyng of Duillius and Cotta, with their secrete confederacies, and all other thynges as befoze they had shewed to the Emperour at home in his palatce: which aswel the accusers as Duillius and Cotta heying dysclosed

contrary to their expectations, they all were confounded, & in theyr amazed countenance sobe in and silence, semed to the emperour and al that were p̄sēt, to confesse their vntruthe and malycie. And therewith Cotta fearyng the emperours seueritie, fel on his knees, and besought the emperour to pardon hym, and hys wyse desyred Geminus to forgyue hym his malycie, confesynge all to be trewe, whiche was now spoken on his behalfe. Herewith the emperour was feruently styed with displeasure towarde the accusers: after that he had spoken with the resydue of the iuges, he gaue sentence in this wyse.

Foꝛ as moche as it appereth vnto vs, that thou Marcus Geminus art innocent of that treason, whiche thy cruel libertines, with the suppoꝛtation of Duillius and Cotta haue falsly accused the of, we declare the to be a true gentylman, loyall to the weale publike and maiesty imperiall, and denounce vnto all menne, that none be so hardy to renew this suspicion, wherof thou arte purged. And foꝛ thy pacience, wysedom, and temperance, we deeme the worthy to be admitted into the college of Senatours. Than the emperour tournyng hym to the libertines sayd: Ye byllayn generation, full of pestiferous malycie, rude and most bestial of nature, boyde of all courtely, false and deceytfull towarde your souerayne, cruel and vengeable against iustyce and raison: foꝛ as moche as ye with all your wyl and puissance haue induozed your selves by your fals accusation, not onely to haue brought to a shamefull deathe Marcus Geminus your naturall loꝛde, a true and innocent gentylman, and a necessarye member of the weale publyke, which if it had hapned, therof

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shulde haue succeeded vnto the weale publike, notable
 damage, & to our person perpetual reproche, & burden
 vnto our conscience: we therfore iuge you al worthy no
 lesse to suffre thā Duilius one of your captayns gaue
 in his sentence at home in our palayce agaynst Mar-
 cus Geminus. that fyfste ye shalbe whyppted throug-
 out the citie with Scorpions, and than your noses &
 eares to be cut of, and so to be broughte into Campa-
 nia, and there to be cistones whipped in euery towne,
 and last of al, to be hanged in chaynes on high gybet-
 tes, as ye be. xvi. in numbze, in. xvi. of the grettest tow-
 nes of that countrey, and that your chyldren shall lose
 the priuilege of the manumissio of you and your aun-
 cestours: and that none of your bloud be from hens-
 forth manumitted by any Consul or Pretor. Moreover
 all your possessions holly to remayne to Marcus Ge-
 minus, your moueables by the consente of Geminus,
 (wher vnto we exhort hym) to be equally diuided and
 gyuen to his other tenants and libertines, which re-
 fused to be consentyng or party to your procedynges.
 ¶ Than looked he on Duilius and Cotta, and firste
 sayd to Duilius: Thou detestable serpente of villain
 progeny, which nature in the, neither mought be sub-
 dued with authoritie, nor altered with riches, so: as
 moche as by enuy onely thou hast maligned agaynst
 Marcus Geminus, and with all thy power hast sup-
 ported his libertines, to accuse hym mooste falsely of
 treason: & more ouer thy selfe hast in such wise appeched
 hym, that in thine owne wordes it appereth that thou
 were of a more familie resorte vnto Dninius than
 Geminus was, and by Dninius confession more con-
 formable vnto his appetyte, and what is declared by

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those wordes; but thou and Cotta were consentynge vnto the conspyracy: Thou shalt therefore receyue thine owne iugement, which thou woldest haue gyuen on Marcus Geminus, that is to saye, thou shalt be disgraced of al honour, and despoiled of thy garmentes in the myddel of this citty: And from thense whipped with scorpions vnto the hygh way called Via Appia, and from thense thou shalt be caried vnto Tarentum, and being there esones whipped, thou shalt be rendred with thy children in seruptude to Marcus Geminus. And al thy possessions to remayne for euer to hym and his heires. And as to the Cotta, although that thou haste despyed pardon, yet for as moche as thou haste polluted the noble and aunciente bloude, wherof thou camest, imbracing villayne condicions, and chosinge rather to be confederate with villayns and maliciouse wretches, than to fauour vertue and iustyce, it were not expedient that thou shouldest be so pardoned, that thou shouldest clerely escape without punishment, specially considering, that thy nobility was a cause that Geminus was moche more suspected, than if thou haddest not ioynded thy selfe with his libertines. Thou shalt therfore susteine parte of thine owne iugement, whiche thou woldest haue gyuen on Geminus, that is to say, thou shalt forthwith lose all thy moueables, whiche also with the goodes of Dullius shalbe equally parted, the one halfe to be brought in to the commune treasoure, the other halfe to be gyuen indifferently amonge those gentylmenne, whiche honestly haue declared vnto vs the innocency of Marcus Geminus. And as for thy landes, durynge thy life to be confiscale, afterwarde to retourne to thyne heires.

ris. Moreover that thou thy selfe shalt neuer retorne
into Campania, but remaine styll here in this tyme,
excepte we vppon other considerations hereafter me-
uinge vs, shall clerely pardon the.

This was the ende of the Emperours sentence.
Wherewith all the people reioyced and cried with one
voyce: happy is Rome, that hath such a gouernour,
happy is the world, that it hath, such an emperour, but
moſte happy be we that haue such a father. A yue no-
ble Alexander, for the goddes do fauour the, all prin-
ces do the honour the, all ille menne do dreade the, all
good men loue the. Liue and prosper moſte excellent
Emperour.

With these and other moſte ioyouse acclamations,
the emperour issued out of the Theatre and departed
towards his palayce, hauing with hym Marcus Ge-
minus, all the streetes beinge full of men women and
children, casting before hym innumerable roses and
other sweete floures. The nexte daye was the Empe-
rours iudgement putte in executyon, and Geminus
admitted in to the Senate. This was the laste iuge-
mente that the Emperour gaue openlye in his owne
person, diuerſe other iugemētes he gaue, which were
in tables accordyng as other Emperours vsed to do.

WHITHERTO is the reporte of Eucolpius: moche
more he wrote, as it seemed. for diuerſe quayres lacked
in the booke. Wherfore to make some perfecte conclu-
ſion, I toke the residue out of other, which wrote also
the lyfe of this Emperour.



HERODIANVS a greeke authoure, wryteth, that the iourney made agaynste Artaxerxes the kynge of Persia, was losse through the slacknes of Alexander, whome he supposeth to be retayned from his enterprise by his mother Hammea, who wold not lette her sonne leoparde his persone ageynst the Persians: but Lampzidius, who gathered his worke out of the booke of Accolius and Eucolpius, who were alway in company with the Emperour Alexander, wryteth in this wyse: He being such an Emperour in his house and abroad, he entreprysed the iourneys of Parthia, wherunto he prepared all thingis with such discipline and reuerence about his owne person, that it mought be sayde, that Senatours went and not souldiours. Where so euer the host was, the chiefe captaynes were circumspecte, the captaynes honest, the souldiours beloued. And therfore the inhabytauntes of countreys receyued hym as god. The menne of warre loued the yong emperour as their brother, their sonne, and their father. They were honestly cladde, conueniently horsed and shodde, richely armed, very welle horsed with harneys & bydels accordingly trymmed, that he whiche behelde the emperours army, shoulde haue perceyued the state of the weale publike. He hym self labored to be iudged worthy to haue the name of Alexander, and to surmount hym of Macedone. In suche fortune he went into Persia, and vāquished king Artaxerxes, who came agaynst hym with seuen hundred elephants, bearyng on their backes towres of woode full of archers and artillery. Also a thousand and fyue hundred chariottes armed with sythes, and people innumerable

merable. And afterwarde Alexander retourned vnto the citie of Antiochia, and with the praye that he toke of the Persians, he made all his men of warre rythe. Than fyrste began Persyans to be slaues to the Romaynes. But bycause that the kynge of Persia doo dysdayne, that any of their people shall lyue in seruitude, he was content, that they shulde be redemed, the money beinge gyuen to them whiche toke them prisoners, beinge retourned to Rome, was conuayde vnto his palayce with all the senatours gentylmen & people, the wyues and chyl dren of his souldiours enuyconyng hym, and his triumphall charpot folowynge hym, beinge drawen with foure great elephantes. And entrynge into his palaice, he was lft bp with the handes of the people, so that durynge the space of foure houres he mought not walke on his fete, al the people crienge aboute. Nowe is Rome saufe, for Alexander is safely returned.

¶ Afterward he lyued in mooste tender loue of the people and Senate, but at the laste the Germanes wasting and destroyng the countray, he beinge ashamed, that the Parthians now beinge vanquysht, that nation sholde prease so nygh to the hed of the weale publike, which people were subdued by petite emperours, he prepared his voyage towarde them, and departed agaynst all mennes wylls, every man byngynge hym a hundred and fifty myles on his waye, with hope of victorie, and sone returne to the cpty. but beinge in France, and syndynge the legions sediciouse, he commaunded them to be reiected. By which occasion the frenche mennes stomakes, as they be alway obstinate and froward, and oftentymes displeasaunt vnto the Emperours.

perours, wolde not suffice any longer his rygorous
 grauity. wherfoze certayn souldiours, which were en-
 riched by Heliogabalus, by the comfozte and ayde of
 that monstreuouse mulettour Maximus, whome they
 made afterwarde Emperour, they sodenly entrynge
 into the pauillion of Alexander, flewe bothe hym and
 his mother, he nothing fearing their malice. Other o-
 pinions there be of his dethe. Finally the rage of vn-
 chrysty persons, which mought not sustayne his excel-
 lent vertues, traiterously flewe this most noble Em-
 perour: whose deth all Rome lamented, al good men
 bewayled, all the worlde repented, whom the Senate
 deified, noble fame renoumed, al wyse men honoured,
 noble wyters commended. whose lyfe maye worshi-
 ly be a paterne to knyghtes, an example to iudges, a
 myrrour to prynces, a beautifull ymage to all theym
 that are lyke to be gouernours: whereby they may
 haue in continuall remembraunce, to imbrace and fo-
 lowe his moste excellent qualities.

✠ FINIS. ✠



● LONDINI ●

IN OFFICINA Thomæ Bertheleni
 typis impress.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-
 dum solum.

● ANNO. M. D. XL. ●

THE
OFFICE OF THE
SHERIFF OF THE
COUNTY OF
SHERBORN
HANTS

NOTICE
TO
THE
CREDITORS
OF
THE
ESTATE
OF
JAMES
WILLIAMS
DECEASED
BY
THE
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